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SPEECHES

AND

TRACTS.

BY

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GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM COLLINS;

WILLIAM WHYTE & CO. AND WM. OLIPHANT, EDINBURGH;

R. M. TIMS, AND WM. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN;

G. B. WHITTAKER, AND HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO.

LONDON.

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SPEECH,

DELIVERED ON THE 24TH OF MAY, 1822,

BEFORE THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

**EXPLANATORY OF THE MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY
PURSUED IN ST. JOHN'S PARISH, GLASGOW,**

FOR THE

EXTINCTION OF ITS COMPULSORY PAUPERISM:

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

BY THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D.

MINISTER OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, GLASGOW.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR CHALMERS AND COLLINS;

WAUGH AND INNES, EDINBURGH;

B. M. TIMS, DUBLIN;

AND G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER, LONDON.

1822.

Soc 2115.110



June 22, 1928

PREFACE.

THE following is rather an awkward sort of publication, from the egotism pervading a narrative, all of which, at the same time, behooved to be delivered; and still more, from that egotism, reaching even to the borders of an indelicacy, that was at the same time unavoidable, in the work of managing a hostile argument, which behooved to be refuted. But there are times when one feels himself imperatively called upon to break loose from every common place restraint; and we trust that it may be deemed a sufficient apology for our authorship on this occasion, that we can plead for it, not the urgency of many friends, for the purpose of drawing out to an exhibition of himself an individual who was the object of their partiality,—but the urgency of many philanthropists, for the purpose of drawing out the attention of the community to a great public and political question, on

the right solution of which, the well-being of our empire is at present so critically and so momentarily suspended.

We have been engaged, for some time, in publishing a series of periodical Essays on the treatment of Pauperism, and to these alone, when completed, would we refer for the development of any such plans or principles as may have occurred to us. But, aware of the slow process of conviction, we gladly avail ourselves of any practical impulse by which it may be accelerated—nor do we know of any more fitted to arrest the notice, or secure the acquiescence of our Scottish population, than that which emanates upon them from the voice of their Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicatory—and especially when that voice, unbroken by partizanship, expresses the unanimous sense and feeling of the General Assembly of our Church. Any elucidation that can be bestowed upon Pauperism, within the compass of a spoken address, must be necessarily imperfect; and therefore it is chiefly because of the venerable sanction wherewith it is associated, that we have ventured to obtrude it at this moment on the public eye. Nor, apart from such topics as are exclusively Christian, do we know upon what occasion the wholesome ascendancy of our church over our population can be more fitly or more usefully interposed, than when she lends her testimony against the spread of that moral nuisance in our land, by which the habits,

and the character, and the whole economy of our sister nation have been so woefully deteriorated.

We anticipated a much longer discussion than what actually took place upon this subject in the General Assembly—nor are we able to conceive an opportunity more precious, than would thus have been offered, of treasuring up the prevalent impressions of the country, on a topic where reason, and sensibility, and the public interest, and the morality of the gospel, all appear to enter as so many warring elements into a question, which is yet far from having reached a satisfactory adjustment in general estimation. Never, perhaps, was there an argument where sound principles on the one hand, are met in such imposing array by specious plausibilities on the other,—and it was natural to expect, in the midst of so much collective intelligence, and feeling, and Christian philanthropy, as are brought together in the great annual representation of our church, that a vast deal could have been gathered from a conflict of minds and hearts, on that theme, to which, of all others, in the present conjuncture of affairs, both humanity and patriotism are most alive. It was under the foreboding of a protracted controversy on the matter to which it refers, that the author of the following short effusion, certainly meant to have recorded all that struck him as most interesting in the extemporaneous utterance of his brethren;

and that, with the purpose of either correcting his own views upon pauperism—or rather, as he must acknowledge his convictions to be somewhat tenacious on this point, with the purpose of modifying every hostile affirmation, by what he deems to be the sound practice and philosophy of the question. It is certainly in so far gratifying, that he has been superseded in this intention, by the general and almost instantaneous acquiescence, of his revered ecclesiastical superiors, in the arrangement that he himself wanted for the supply of his poor. Still, there was a sufficient interval of doubt and of inquiry, to have enabled him to proceed a certain way in the enterprise, and come forth with a short specimen in an Appendix, of what he contemplated on that occasion. It would, if completed, have furnished him with the opportunity of meeting the most urgent objections to his own theory, in another form than that of abstract ratiocination; and perhaps to have brought the whole system into a broader and closer coalescence with the popular mind, than it is possible to do by any synthetic exposition of it from elementary principles, or even by any reasoning, though grounded on the clearest statements both of arithmetic and experience. Such, indeed, is his distrust in the efficacy of all formal argumentation on this matter, that rather than this, would he be present at any random colloquy of intelligent and sound-hearted men about pauperism, where he might be permitted

to seize on all the leading conceptions, that had been sent forth during the free play and interchange of sentiment between them—and to have evinced the experimental soundness of what he conceives to be the right theory, by evincing, as it were, the flexibility of its applications, to all the difficulties that might have been suggested, and the practical readiness wherewith it can suit itself to all the possible varieties of case and of circumstances which might be alleged in opposition to it.

In addition to this, the Appendix contains first Notes supplemental to, or illustrative of, the various positions advanced in the course of the Speech—and, lastly, concludes with a brief exposition of the way, in which the utter extinction of all compulsory pauperism in Scotland might be accomplished by means of its ecclesiastical system. The great practical importance of this latter object was, indeed, the consideration which had chief sway in the mind of the author, as he hesitated on the propriety of this publication. And he shall have fulfilled his aim to the uttermost extent, if the auxiliary argument wherewith he has endeavoured to recommend the multiplication of chapels or churches in our more populous parishes, shall give any impulse to a cause that stands associated with far higher interests than those which relate to the temporal economy and well-being of social life,—a cause that should be dear to every Christian

bosom, on account of its bearings upon the concerns of human immortality—and which points to a still nobler emancipation for our city multitudes, than even from that pauperism that not only has brought degradation upon themselves, but also undoubted distress and privation upon their families.

SPEECH.

THE argument set forth in my petition to the Presbytery of Glasgow, will, I think, be held decisive enough by itself, of the necessity that there is for a Chapel of Ease in the parish of St. John's. A population of 8,000, with a church only capable of accommodating 1,640, make out a sufficient plea, I should imagine, for another edifice, and another labourer. But, there is a distinct and additional cause, which I beg shortly to explain to this venerable Court, and by which the necessities of my people have been greatly aggravated. So that, over and above all that is urged in the statement which has now been submitted to you, there do exist still weightier reasons for an earnest and imperative call, than any which appear in our written allegations.

My parishioners have not the benefit of this church accommodation. Agreeably to the general practice of all our large towns, the seats are held out indiscriminately to bidders from all quarters

of the city. This I think to be wrong, and that it ought to be remedied by the offer of a preference, in the first instance, for all the vacant room, to the residents within the parish. But, such not being the habit of our city administrators, the result is, that in all our poorer parishes, the families are overborne by the competition of the wealthier and more favoured citizens of the place—inso-much, that, at the commencement of my labours in Glasgow, I had only one hearer for every 97 parishioners, which is in the proportion of not one hundred sitters in the parish church, out of all the inhabitants of a parish that is upwards of 8,000 souls.

But this grievous deficiency is made up, it may be thought, by the free access which my people have to all the other churches. Not if they are poor. The interest which failed them of success in their applications for the church of their own parish, will not be of mighty avail to them in the competition for the church seats of other parishes: and, accordingly, by a survey of three years back, it appears, that of all these eight thousand, only seven hundred and ninety-nine individuals had seats in all the various churches of the Establishment, in Glasgow.

But it may be thought of this vast and dreary remainder of unprovided population, that they were sufficiently engrossed, and had enough of Christian tuition and discipline brought to bear upon their families by Dissenters. On this point,

too, I am enabled to furnish you with precise authentical information. The total number of individuals, then, who, at that time, attended on all the places of worship, put together, whether within or without the pale of our Establishment, were two thousand two hundred and ten. Now, though it appears, by this statement, that the Dissenters have very nearly a double attendance over the Establishment, yet in reference to the whole parish, there still lies a wide and a melancholy waste, that has not been overtaken,—for if you add, agreeably to the most approved principles of computation on this subject, the three fifths that ought to be at home, of the above number, still you have only a church-going population of three thousand five hundred and thirty-six—leaving, as ample materials for our proposed chapel, a still unreclaimed host of four thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, who, if abandoned to their present habits of Sabbath profanation, will sorely retaliate the neglect by their week-day profligacy; and sure result of the irreligious atmosphere in which they at all times breathe, and to which the Christian's hallowed day, brings no respite, and no intermission, will plebeian infidelity be every year taking deeper root among the people, and spreading wider the shadow of its dark and deadly foliage over them,—and to the weight of all those moral and political distempers which afflict our land, will it add the aggrava-

tion of its many crimes, and the burden of its ill-conditioned families.

It is a question altogether pertinent to the topic that now engages us, why has Dissenterism not been able to take up a greater number of these out-cast families? Why has she fallen short of her aim, and left the vast majority beyond the pale of spiritual cultivation? In this land of tolerance she can ply at will all the resources and all the energies which belong to her; and yet the heathenism of our people has not only stood its ground, but gathered into more colossal magnitude and strength, under the incessant play of all her moving forces, and all her flying artillery. There is a suburb domain of Glasgow of 27,000 people, which, bating a solitary chapel under the wings of our Establishment, they have had all to themselves, and we are sure, that over this whole extent they have not drawn above 3000 hearers—and many are the crowded vicinities that have formed each into a strong-hold of alienated families, which they have found to be impregnable. Whether, we ask, will it be the Church or the Sectaries that shall, at last, get possession of the hold; and with which of these two do the best spiritual tactics lie, for the best onset to assail and to carry it?

The might and the mastery of an Establishment, when brought to bear on such a mass of resistance as this, all hang on the superior efficacy of territorial cultivation. The Dissenter builds his chapel,

and he draws hearers indiscriminately from all the places around ; but drawing none save those who have a predisposition for what is sacred, he can only retard the degeneracy of his townsmen, but never, with his present processes, is he able to recall it. The Establishment builds its chapel also ; but, besides this, it metes off a geographical vineyard to him who officiates therein ; and it lies with himself to be, in a very few months, a respected and a recognized functionary among all its tenements ; and without any romantic sacrifice of his time or of his ease, but just in the quiet and regular discharge of the assiduities of his office, among the ignorant, the sick, and the dying, will he be sure to find good welcome in every heart, and good-will in every home towards him. Now, it is by these week-day attentions among the people of his local territory, that he, at length, diffuses over the whole of this contiguous space an interest and a desire after his Sabbath ministrations ; and gathers new recruits to his congregation from the most worthless of its families. It is just because the every day movements of a minister through his parish, create among the parishioners a tendency to his church, that a priority of admittance for them should be an invariable principle in the rule of seat-letting. By adopting it as our rule in our constitution for a chapel, we have no doubt that its future minister will soon fill it to an overflow with family groupés, from the deep recesses, and the putrid

alleys, and the now loathsome hovels of the district that is assigned to him,—and that all outlandish as is the present aspect of its still ungainly and untutored population; the pastor who lives and who labours there will soon be regaled by the greetings of a home-walk, and will soon surround himself with the breath and the blandness of a village economy.

But the principle of locality, when it leads to a territorial rule of seat-letting, is not only of use in adding to the amount of church-going; it is also of equal avail, when it leads to a parochial administration of poor's money in reducing the amount of pauperism. Our proposed chapel will be built in a plebeian district, and, in virtue of one rule in its constitution, it is primarily designed for the accommodation of the resident plebeian families—and we have no doubt, that in the course of time, it will mainly be occupied by a local congregation. In best possible keeping with this, its peculiar condition, is another rule of its constitution, whereby we provide that its weekly collections shall be deposited with the kirk-treasurer of the parish, and be made exclusively applicable to the behoof of the parish poor. Opposed to this arrangement is the proposition, that these collections shall be deposited with the treasurer of a general fund, and be placed under a general administration, for behoof of the poor in the whole city. In advocating our own article, we shall have to prove the advan-

tags of a separate and independent administration of pauperism for each parish, over a general administration for all the parishes—and in so doing, we shall have to submit a rather lengthened narrative of the plans that have recently been adopted in Glasgow for the management of the poor, and of the results that have flowed from them.

I remember that more than twenty years ago, when I attended the lectures of Professor Robison, among all the felicities of thought and of illustration in which he abounded, there was none which delighted me more at the time, or which has clung to me more tenaciously ever since, than one that he uttered when in the act of drawing a parallel between those two great branches of mathematical science, geometry and algebra. His taste and his preference were altogether on the side of geometry; and that, because in the business of its demonstrations, the thinking principle is at all times in close exercise and contact with the quantities themselves. The lines, and the angles, and the surfaces, are never out of the mind's eye during the whole of the investigating process; and whether you know much of the mathematics or not, you can, at least, conceive how much more freshly and deliciously the understanding is regaled, when thus set to work immediately, and without the intervention of any artificial medium, on the realities of the question.

Now the same does not hold of algebra. The

quantities are not in the eye of the mind, because removed and hidden therefrom under the veil of an arbitrary nomenclature. It is not with the things, but with the terms expressive of the things, that the mind has immediately to do. Instead of the understanding being employed on actual truths, or actual relations, it is rather the hand which is employed in shifting and shuffling among the hieroglyphics of a formula. It is thus that algebra, however powerful as an instrument of research, does not afford so satisfying an intellectual repast to its disciples as does geometry. Insomuch that the late Dr. Gregory, who seems to have regarded with mortal aversion the very physiognomy of an algebraical page, came forth with the memorable saying, that algebra was an invention for enabling the mind to reason without thinking. And Professor Robison, than whom a truer philosophic spirit never graced the University of Edinburgh, has given us a deliverance upon this subject, which is equally memorable; that he liked geometry better than algebra, because in the former the *ipsa corpora* of the question were present to the mind, and in the latter they were not present to it.

Now there are just two such ways of taking up and treating the question of pauperism, which admit of being similarly contrasted. The *ipsa corpora* of this great problem in political science lie seated and spread out before you among the population. They hold immediately on the familiar

and ascertained elements of our nature; and you come to close quarters with them, when going forth on a parochial territory, you have to deal with the hearts, and the habits, and the whole economy of its families. It is in this way, that I have been permitted for upwards of two years and a half, to prosecute my designs for the extirpation of pauperism—placed in the very middle of its near and besetting realities; and these rendered greatly more urgent, and of course, greatly more stimulating, by the great vicissitudes which, within that period of time, have befallen our exclusively manufacturing population. There is nought of which all the while I have been more fearful, than any premature explosion, or an untimely interruption of the process, on the ground either of civil or ecclesiastical law—though, on that ground too, I deem myself invulnerable. The interruption, however, I have now most unexpectedly met with. An article of our constitution for a chapel of ease, copied in from models that had been previously sanctioned by this venerable assembly, has been the spark to light up a controversy which, on the present occasion, I most assuredly, did not anticipate; and a movement that was made, purely and exclusively for the religious interests of my people, has become the signal of an attempt to reland my parish in a system of pauperism that I hold to be deleterious. It is great consolation, however, that with all the recoil I feel from the stormy element of

debate, and all the discomfort wherewith I breathe amid the agitations and the invectives of its turbid atmosphere, the tempest has not arisen till the harbour has been gained—the attack has not been made till the enterprise has been carried onwards to its satisfying termination—and one vessel, at least, laden with a rich harvest of experience, has been suffered to deposit its spoils in a place that is impregnable. There is one parish that has been thoroughly reclaimed from the legal charity of England—that has been conducted back again to the mild and peaceful administrations of our own better economy—and has now traversed the whole distance which lies between a state of compulsory pauperism, and the pauperism which is strictly Scottish, and Sessional, and altogether gratuitous. It is well that the voyage has been finished ere this unlooked-for whirlwind arose; and in such circumstances too, as to prove that the voyage may, at any time, be repeated, and that, by every-day instruments and with every-day materials. It may now be seen, that instead of a wild adventure only fit for the darings of a wild enthusiasm, there is not a city or country parish in Scotland which may not, if she will, find a most practicable opening, by which to rid herself of all contagious fellowship with that system, that now bows down, so oppressively, upon our sister nation; and that all the daring, and all the frenzy, which have been conceived to place this enterprise beyond the reach of imitation, were only called for at the out-

set, when the matter was still untried, and the blasts of radicalism had, at one time, well nigh overwhelmed it. But now that the channel has been forced, and sounded, and explored, it may be obviously attempted by any vessel with ordinary pilotage, in ordinary times. And therefore, do with the first adventurer what you will—order him back again to the place from which he had departed—compel his bark out of its present secure and quiet landing-place—or let her be scuttled, if you so choose, and sunk to the bottom; still, not to magnify our doings but to illustrate them, we must remind you that the discovery survives the loss of the discovery ship; for, if discovery it must be called, the discovery has been made—a safe and easy navigation has been ascertained from the charity of law to the charity of kindness: and therefore be it now reviled, or be it now disregarded as it may, we have no doubt upon our spirits, whether we look to the depraving pauperism, or to the burdened agriculture of our land, that the days are soon coming when men, looking for a way of escape from these sore evils, will be glad to own our enterprise and be fain to follow it.

So much at present for the *ipsa corpora* of the problem—or as it lies spread out in diagram before you on the parochial territory. But, at the moment of its being translated from the parish to the Presbytery, at that moment did it pass from the state of an experimental to the state of a legal ques-

tion; and then too, sheathed in the algebra of style and form ecclesiastic, did the ipsa corpora disappear from the field of vision altogether. I can scarcely recognise my old acquaintance pauperism, in the attire of new and strange phraseology wherewith they have invested her; and far more appalling to my imagination, than all the surds and symbols of algebra put together, are the mystic and unknown characters which some of my reverend brethren have graven upon her forehead. When met and confronted with pauperism on the geographical tablet of my own vineyard, I found nothing unmanageable, but that all went smoothly, and pleasantly, and prosperously forward; but when transferred from thence and laid on the table of the Presbytery, I felt, with Professor Robison, my inclinations to be all towards the ipsa corpora of the question. Even at the time when a clamorous and distressed population asserted their right to alimment on the principles of English law—and besieged, with angry remonstrance and manifesto, the houses of the clergymen—and sent in their whole columns of signatures, appended to written paragraphs of stout and sullen defiance—and, on the eve of our great radical explosion, plied the administrators of public charity with messages of no ambiguous import—and hung upon the question of pauperism all the felt or fancied grievances which inflamed them—even then, was it not so difficult to acquit ourselves on the native arena of

the question, as we now feel it unpleasant to have been dragged forward on the arena of our present controversy. And such is the superior comfort we feel in a close engagement of the understanding, with the naked elements of the question—that much rather would we hold parley, on this subject, with all the radical members of the population of Glasgow put together, than we would hold parley with but one or two refractory members of the Presbytery thereof.

But I must now pass on to our narrative of facts; nor would I have indulged to such length in preliminary matter, had it not been for the general and almost overwhelming impression that there is of the question of pauperism as being a question of exceeding difficulty. It is so in one sense of the term, and not at all so in the other. There is an all-important distinction here, between the natural, and what may be called the political difficulties of the question—between the difficulties which attach essentially to the problem, from the constitution of human nature and the mechanism of human society, and those wherewith, adventitiously, the problem is encumbered, from the weight of civil or municipal regulation that has been laid upon it—between the difficulties which be in the habits and circumstances of the poor, and the difficulties which be in the authority and practice of those who are the established functionaries for the poor. Now, what we affirm is, that the former class of difficulties, which

have their *locum standi* in the parish, vanish into nothing on the simple removal of certain artificial stimulants that have called the whole of our pauperism into being; and that the latter class of difficulties, which have their *locum standi* in the hall of deliberation or debate, form the only obstacles to the requisite solution of the problem. You will at once perceive, that if there be any truth in these observations, they do most materially affect the philosophy of the subject. But what we chiefly want by pressing them home at this moment upon you is, that if you have any freedom at all to move between the extremes of the law in its rigour, and the law in its relaxation, you may be persuaded to take the side of relaxation, and not unnecessarily hamper the man whom you find to be honestly intent on the abolition of pauperism—that if you participate with him in his desire to sweep this moral nuisance away, you may look indulgently on the operation by which it has been expunged from more than a tenth part of the most populous city within the limits of our establishment—that you make the success of his enterprise atone for any deviations from strictest legalism, of which he, at the same time, is perfectly unconscious, though he doubts not, that to the jealous and microscopic eye of his adversaries in the question, they appear as monstrous, as they have alleged them to be manifold. And if there be space or latitude for such a connivance, surely it were bet-

ter to tolerate, in some degree, that *brevi manu* style of proceeding, by which unquestionable good is to be achieved, than to clench and perpetuate unquestionable evil, by either adding to the restraints, or tightening the harness of an artificial jurisprudence.

But I feel that I must be brief, and brief, too, on an argument under which I really stand before you burdened and oppressed with a sense of its unwieldiness. What might be expanded into a treatise, must be compressed within the limits of an oral delivery—and I do entreat the indulgent ear of this venerable Assembly, while, as rapidly as I can, I hurry through the most essential of those topics, which may serve to guide their arbitration on the point at issue.

And here let me make a distinction between the compulsory and the gratuitous pauperism of Glasgow. The former is that which is upheld by a levy; the latter is that which is upheld by a voluntary contribution. Our object is, if possible, to do away the former, and to demonstrate the sufficiency of the latter for all the fair and legitimate demands of the poor. But, for this purpose certain changes and amendments in the old system were indispensable—and to make you understand more distinctly the nature of these changes, let me first read to you the following extract, wherein an account is given of that complex and unwieldy apparatus of distribution, which went to send forth all their supplies of aliment to the poor of our city.

“ Each parish is divided into districts called proportions, over which an elder is appointed; whose business it is to receive from the people belonging to it, and who are induced to become paupers, their first applications for public relief. The fund which principally arises from the free-will offerings that are collected weekly at the church doors of the different parishes, is kept distinct from the fund that arises out of the legal assessments; so that when any application was made to the elder from his district, he had to judge whether the case was of so light a nature, as that it could be met and provided for out of the first and smallest of these funds; or whether it was a case of such magnitude as justified the immediate transmission of it to the administrators of the second fund. It so happens, that excepting on rare occasions, the primary applications for relief, are brought upon the fund raised by collections, and therefore comes in the first instance, under the cognizance and control of the Kirk-Session of that parish, out of which the applications have arisen. So that generally at the first stage in the history of a pauper, he stands connected with the Kirk-Session to which he belongs, and is enrolled as one of their paupers, at the monthly allowance of from two to five shillings.

“ It is here, however, proper to remark, that the different Kirk-Sessions did not retain their own proper collections, for a fund out of which they might issue their own proper disbursements; but

that all the collections were thrown into one mass, subject to the control of a body of administrators, named the **GENERAL SESSION**, and made up of all the members of all the separate Sessions of the city. From this reservoir, thus fed by weekly parochial contributions, there issued back again such monthly supplies upon each subordinate Session, as the General Session judged to be requisite, on such regard being had, as they were disposed to give to the number and necessities of those poor that were actually on the roll of each parish. So, that in as far as the administration of the voluntary fund for charity was concerned, it was conducted according to a system that had all the vices which we have already tried to enumerate, and the mischiefs of which was scarcely alleviated, by the occasional scrutinies that were made under the authority of the General Session, for the purpose of purifying and reducing the rolls of all that pauperism, which lay within the scope of their jurisdiction.

“ But we have already stated, that even in the first instance, some cases occurred of more aggravated necessity and distress, than a Kirk-Session felt itself able for, or would venture to undertake. These were transmitted direct to the **TOWN HOSPITAL**, a body vested with the administration of the compulsory fund, raised by legal assessment, throughout the city, for the purpose of supplementing that revenue which is gathered at the church door, and

which, with a few trifling additions from other sources, constitutes the sole public aliment of the poor, in the great majority of our Scottish parishes. There were only, however, a small number who found their way to the Town Hospital, without taking their middle passage to it by the Kirk-Session; so that the main host of that pauperism which made good its entry on the compulsory fund, came not directly and at once from the population, but through those parochial bodies of administration for the voluntary fund, whose cases, as they either multiplied in number, or became more aggravated in kind, were transferred from their own rolls to those of this other institution. This transference took place when the largest sum awarded by the Session was deemed not sufficient for the pauper, who, as he became older, and more necessitous, was recommended for admittance on their ampler fund, to the weekly committee of the Town Hospital. So that each Session might have been regarded as having two doors—one of them a door of admittance from the population who stand at the margin of pauperism; and another of them, a door of egress to the Town Hospital, through which the occupiers of the outer court made their way to the inner temple. The Sessions, in fact, were the feeders or conductors by which the Town Hospital received its pauperism, that after lingering a while on this path of conveyance, was impelled onward to the farther extremity, and was at length thrust

into the bosom of the wealthier institution, by the pressure that constantly accumulated behind it."*

Now, the compulsory pauperism of Glasgow, under this old style of it, just trebled its expenses in fifteen years. In 1803, the assessment for the poor, amounted to above three thousand pounds; in 1818, it approached to twelve thousand pounds, which added to the collections, made up about one half the expenditure of Manchester. We were thus in sure and rapid career towards the corrupt and extravagant system of England—and after the attentive observation of three years, there was nothing of which I felt more intuitively certain, than that under the then existing economy of a general fund, and a general management, the case was utterly irremediable.

The evils of such a system are these. The more that you generalize the administration for the poor, the more does it stand before the eye of the population in the imposing characters of power and of magnitude; and the delusive confidence which they are thus led to place in its resources, is one of the main feeders of pauperism. And, again, the more also, in this way, do you widen the distance between

* This Extract is from No. XI. of a periodical work entitled, "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," and from which the reader will gather a far ampler demonstration of the evils attendant on the old system, than could possibly have been given in the course of an address to the General Assembly.

the dispensers and the recipients of charity, adding thereby to the helplessness of the former, and giving far more advantageous scope and license to the dexterity of the latter—and on this second principle, too, do you behold another and most copious feeder of pauperism. Or, if to escape the evil here, you have separate administrations, but all hanging on a common fund, then you relax the care and vigilance of the subordinate managers in the concern—for never is any business so well economised, when you can draw indefinitely for the expenses of it out of a large and general reservoir, as when its own peculiar charges must be defrayed out of its own peculiar resources. It was on these most obvious considerations, as sound, we trust, as they are simple, that I longed and laboured with all my might for the dissolution of all general funds, and general jurisdictions in city pauperism; thoroughly persuaded, that with a very humble fraction of the old expenditure, the same thing could be better done under the economy of local and independent managements,—that, when once public charity stood divested of the glare and magnificence which had been thrown over it by the one stately institution; and broken down into separate and sessional administrations, it shrunk to the popular eye within the humble dimensions of a parish economy; and each distinct eldership had to labour closely and exclusively among their own people, with a fund of which they knew the limits, and, at the same time,

had the independent disposal—why, under this new arrangement, which you will perceive to be in most entire accordancy with all the characteristics of Scottish pauperism, I did most surely and most sanguinely anticipate, that, in a very few years, we should get rid of the assessment altogether, and be conclusively delivered of an evil that has not only distempered the whole social economy of England, but might soon, amongst ourselves, have been the vitiating fountain of many moral and many political disorders.

With such views and principles as these, I held it to be indeed a most providential opening, when the new parish of St. John's, to which the Magistrates and Council, did me the honour of granting the presentation, was erected in Glasgow—and not the less so, that it comprehended so large a population of operatives, as to constitute it one of the poorest and most plebeian of our city districts. They carried, I believe, in this appointment, a prospective regard, as well as myself, to the establishment of a reform on the methods of our existing pauperism—but to prove how legally and constitutionally they went to work, they first, in the Deed of Erection, by the Lords of Session, acting as Commissioners of Teinds, obtained from them a clause, relating to the management of the poor, which fully authorised them to assign an independent management to the Kirk-Session of St. John's.

It was after my appointment to the parish of St. John's, that I wrote the following letter to the Lord Provost, on the subject of its pauperism:

Glasgow, Aug. 3d, 1819.

" MY LORD,

" When I received the intimation of my appointment as Minister of St. John's, it gave me sincere pleasure to be informed at the same time, that a letter written by myself to Mr. Ewing, was read to the Magistrates and Council previous to my election, as it gave me the flattering assurance, that the leading objects adverted to, in that letter, met with the approbation of the Honourable Body over which your Lordship presides.

" In that letter I adverted to the wish I had long entertained, and which is publicly enough known by other channels, for a separate and independent management on the part of my Session, of the fund raised by collections at the Church door, and with which fund, I propose to take the management of all the existing Sessional poor within our bounds, and so to meet the new applications for relief, as never to add to the general burden of the City by the ordinary poor of the parish of St. John's.

" And I here beg it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider the revenue of the Kirk-Session, to be at all applicable to those extraordinary cases, which are produced by any sudden and un-

looked-for depression, in the state of our manufactures. Nor, if ever there shall be a call for pecuniary aid on this particular ground, do I undertake to provide for it out of our ordinary means, but will either meet it by a parochial subscription, or by taking a full share of any such general measure, as may be thought expedient under such an emergency.

“ Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that if the new cases of ordinary pauperism, accumulate upon us in the rate at which they have done formerly, they would soon overtake our present collections. And yet my confidence in a successful result, is not at all founded on the expected magnitude of my future collections, but upon the care and attention with which the distribution of the fund will be conducted, a care and an attention, which I despair of ever being able to stimulate effectually, till I obtain an arrangement, by which my Session shall be left to square its own separate expenditure, by its own separate and peculiar resources.

“ At the same time, I can also, with such an arrangement, stimulate more effectually than before, the liberality of my congregation; and with this twofold advantage I am hopeful, not merely of being able to overtake the whole pauperism of St. John's, but, of leaving a large surplus applicable to other objects, connected with the best interests of the population in that district of the city.

“ What I propose to do with the surplus, is, to apply it as we are able, to the erection and endowment of Parochial Schools, for the purpose of meeting our people, not with gratuitous education, but with good education, on the same terms at which it is had in country parishes.

“ My reason for troubling your Lordship with this intimation, is, that I require the sanction of the heritors of the parish, ere I can allocate any part of the sum raised by collections in this way. Without this sanction, I shall make no attempt to stimulate the liberality of my congregation, beyond what is barely necessary for the expenses of pauperism. With this sanction, I shall have the best of all arguments, by which to stimulate the liberality of my hearers and the care of my distributors, and (most important of all) the zealous co-operation even of the poorest among my people, who will easily be persuaded, to observe a moderation in their demands, when they find it stands associated with a cause so generally dear to them, as the education of their families.

“ There is another object, which I shall not press immediately, but which your Lordship will perceive to be as necessary for the protection of the other parishes of Glasgow as of my own. And that is, that the law of residence shall take effect, between my parish and the other parishes of the city. I am quite willing that every other parish shall have protection by this law, from the

ingress of my poor, in return for the protection of my parish, from the ingress of theirs. It is practically the simplest of all things, to put this into operation from the very outset. But I mention it now, chiefly with a view to be enabled to remind your Lordship, when it comes to be applied for afterwards, that it is not because of any unlooked for embarrassment, that I make the application, but in pursuance of a right and necessary object, which even now, I have in full contemplation.

“I shall only conclude with assuring your Lordship, that nothing will give me greater pleasure, than to transmit, from time to time, the state of our progress in the parish of St. John’s, respecting all the objects alluded to in this communication; and that I hold myself subject to the same inspection and control from you, as the heritors of my parish, which the law assigns to the heritors of other parishes.

“A Deed of consent and approbation, relative to the various points that have now been submitted through your Lordship, to the Magistrates and Council, will very much oblige,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most obliged and obedient Servant,

(Signed,) THOMAS CHALMERS.”

Now it is the reply to this letter, of consent and approbation on the part of the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, which I have all along acted upon, with the feeling of its being a full constitutional warrant for doing all that I have done.

But here I must introduce to the notice of the venerable Court, another Body, designated by the name of the General Session, and composed of all the members of all the eight Kirk-Sessions in the city of Glasgow. The habit was to deposit all the collections at the eight respective churches, with the Treasurer of this Corporation, whence it emanated back again as from a fountain-head, on the existing parishes. But, when the additional parish of St. John's was formed, and under the authority of its peculiar clause for the poor in the Deed of Erection, the Magistrates, acting as heritors, authorised the minister thereof, to take upon himself the peculiar management of his own pauperism, did certain members of the General Session interpose, and laying claim to the same jurisdiction over the new parish, that they had all along exercised over the old ones, the question was stirred in a full assembly; and the result was, that they formally divested themselves of all authority over the administration of the money weekly collected at the church doors, in favour of a general Body of management, into whose hands they were willing to resign all their wonted power of superintendence and control.

But this is not the final decision of the General Session. The matter was again taken up about a year afterwards. And by their very last deliverance on the topic, they abandon the recommendation of a general fund, and again finally denude themselves of all authority in favour of that very system of distinct parochial administrations, which is all that we contend for.*

By this time, I trust, you will now recognise the perfect legitimacy of this whole operation—that, more especially, it is not a lawless adventure, taken up gratuitously and at random; but with full approbation of all the authorities concerned—that, the parish from its birth was destined to the very independence for which it now has to struggle—and that nothing has been done with its church nor proposed for its chapel, which is not the fair and natural development of that germ that the Honourable the Commissioners of Teinds deposited with their own hands among the earliest rudiments of its formation. To talk of me as having overleaped

* The clause in the Deed of Erection relative to the poor of St. John's—the Deed of authority to the Kirk-Session thereof for an independent management of their own poor—both the Deeds of resignation by the General Session, together with certain recent extracts from the minutes of that Body, in proof that they now held themselves stript of all authority over the Kirk-Sessions of the city—these were fully read out in the hearing of the General Assembly. A complete account of the whole transaction, down, at least, to the original settlement of matters for the parish of St. John's, is to be met with in Mr. Cleland's Work on the "Public Institutions of Glasgow," from p. 206 to 216.

all the fences of legality, is an affirmation put to the blush by the narrative that I now have submitted to you—and from which it is most abundantly manifest, that I have all along acted on an original impulse, issuing from the highest fountain-head of law—that, in every step of the process I have had an approving magistracy to go along with me—and even now, when forced out to battle against this invasion on my parochial birthright, I am only fighting by their side,—And as to the General Session of Glasgow, the only high place from which the frown of hostility was ever known to descend upon our enterprise—such, at length, has been the deference they have rendered us, that not only to let us pass have they, by an act of civility, bowed themselves even unto the ground—but profounder homage still, have they, by an act of suicide, laid their authority and their honours in the bottom of a self-consigned grave. Figure our astonishment then, when from this deep receptacle we heard the spectre's hollow voice, and saw his cold and withering look at us; when a cry from the ashes of the dead offered to arrest our progress—or more appalling still, when from that domain of silence and of terror, there issued forth an avenging knighthood, with fell and uplifted arm, to inflict upon us their blow of annihilation.

The venerable Assembly is not merely a Court to be addressed and reasoned with on the principles of law—but we are quite sure, that you will not

turn to us a deaf and listless ear, when we further offer to address you on the high interests of patriotism. We should like to obtain for our present treatment of pauperism, the high sanction of your most rightful and revered authority—and for this purpose, suffer us now to plead in behalf of the obnoxious article in our constitution for a chapel, the unquestionable good that is secured by it.

And here let me beg most earnestly, that you will give two distinct places in your understanding, to two things which are really distinct and distinguishable from each other—and by the mingling of which into one confused mass of argument, a most obstinate and hitherto impracticable delusion has gotten its immovable hold on the judgment of all my opponents in Glasgow—so that foiled again and again in my attempts for the dispersing of it, I have ceased very much to talk of pauperism—choosing rather quietly to do, than to lift up my voice in a wilderness. The two things which I most feelingly implore you to keep apart in your thoughts the one from the other, is the pauperism that has already been made, in any parish, under the old system ; and the pauperism that is yet to make under the new, on the event of its being adopted. It is quite obvious, that in a few years, death will sweep away the now accumulated pauperism—and the question, therefore, as to the power of a new method in at length reducing this sore evil, or, perhaps, extinguishing it altogether,

depends simply upon its fitness to meet the demands and to restrain the admissions of the new pauperism. I am for no act of violence done to any of the existing cases, no sudden or forcible reduction upon their comforts—but would rather, for the sake of gradualising the operation, and making a perfectly smooth and even-going process of it, see every now enrolled pauper to his grave, in the full sufficiency of all his wonted allowances. The jet of the operation, lies in the treatment and disposal of the new applicants. It may require a great fund to maintain the old pauperism; but as it dies away, the expense of it is in constant diminution, and by the sure and speedy operation of mortality, will, at length, vanish altogether. But, if along with this process on the old pauperism, it should be found that with a very small fund one can meet and satisfy, or, at least, do justice to all the new applications, then after the last vestiges of the old system have all melted away, will it be succeeded by a humble and moderate economy, then standing upon its ruins.

Now the fund by assessments is just what I should look to for upholding the pauperism that is already formed, and the fund by collections the one where-with I should undertake all the new applications—letting the assessments cease on the moment that the old pauperism has disappeared; and if the collections shall be found adequate to all the new cases, accomplishing in towns the restoration of a

strictly Scottish pauperism, in the place of that by which our sister kingdom has been so distressed and so demoralized.

Thus then it is that I have all along met, though I have not been able as yet to overbear, the ceaseless cry that my plan is not imitable, because of the unexampled magnitude of my collections. My collection consists of two parts—that which is given by the day congregation, assembled from all quarters of the city, and justly chargeable, I do admit, with the imputation of magnitude, amounting, as it does, to about £450—and that which is given by the evening congregation, distinct from the former, as being opened primarily for the accommodation of parishioners, whose humble halfpence afford me a yearly sum of £80. Now, let it be well and pointedly noticed, that it is with this evening collection, and it alone, that I perform the essential step in the solution of this much perplexed and agitated problem. The day collection that has been so pertinaciously, and one would almost say, reproachfully urged, against me, has nothing to do with it. I allocate it to the support of the old pauperism, and have now relieved the fund by assessment of the whole weight of those cases that ever came upon it from the parish of St. John's. In so doing, I have only anticipated by a few years, the operation of death. That day collection, of which I have often been tempted to wish that it were out of the way altogether, as it

has only served to darken and embarrass a spectacle, that might else have lighted up an instantaneous conviction in the minds of observers, is but a temporary phenomenon, and is only applied to the temporary purpose of relieving, by a few years sooner, that compulsory fund, which soon, by the hand of death, would have been relieved at any rate. But it is to the power of the evening collection, that we have to look for all that is interesting, or for all that is capable of wide and enduring application. It is at the place of concourse between the small parochial fund gathered from the parochial congregation on the one hand, and the new applicants from the parish that apply for parochial aid upon the other—it is there where the controversy is to be decided; and it is from the humble and unnoticed history of this administration, that we obtain the only satisfactory light on the question of pauperism. And, indeed, most satisfying it has been. For two years and a half we have, with the evening collection alone, rightly met all the new cases, and rightly provided for them, and though its annual amount be £80 only, yet we have a surplus on hand of £65; and judging of the future from the past, and after having traversed the dreariest and most distressful period that ever occurred in the history of Glasgow, we all feel most proudly confident, that ere the new pauperism shall have overtaken the evening collection, the old pauperism shall all have disappeared—or,

in other words, that the whole public charity of our plebeian district, shall be defrayed, to the last shilling of it, by plebeian offerings.

It might serve, perhaps, to simplify this exhibition, and to give you a more lucid and satisfying view of all that is essential in this process, just to suppose that there had never been any such day congregation as now attend us; and that the evening congregation, occupying their places, did, out of the same scanty offerings which they now give, only afford me the one collection of eighty pounds a-year. Instead of my present complex revenue, let it be imagined, for a moment, that I, just like the rest of my brethren in the city, had but one audience and one collection, but inferior to them all, had only £80 a-year, as the whole yearly amount of the money gathered at my church door. This would not have deterred me from entering upon the new system. Its only effect would have been that I could not, in such circumstances, undertake to relieve the assessment fund of any of that pauperism which, at present, lies upon it—but I would have had no hesitation in committing myself to the necessity of providing for all the new cases, and leaving the compulsory fund to be gradually lightened of its whole burden, by the operation of death. This is precisely what we are now doing with our evening fund, and so with no other revenue than just a collection, equal to my humble parochial offerings, might any parish in the city be eventually cleared of all its compulsory pauperism.

The plan, in all its essential respects, is imitable, and accordingly has been imitated—first, by the Outer Kirk parish, under Mr. Marshall, and latterly by three more. The only difference between them and me is merely circumstantial. They give no such relief to the assessment fund as I am now doing, but this distinction is altogether of a temporary nature; for death will soon clear away all our old assessment cases, and leave, I have no doubt, in a few years, the one-half of Glasgow wholly delivered of its compulsory pauperism.*

It is curious to mark the gradation that obtains in the confidence of our various clergy, respecting the efficacy of what has been called the new system. First, certain of them, who have not adopted it, are quite sure that it is altogether a visionary speculation. Secondly, two of them, who have wealthy parishes at the fashionable end of the city, and who have adopted it, speak of it merely as an experiment that is worthy of a fair chance, but are not at all sanguine as to the result of it. Thirdly, one, who has indisputably the poorest and most profligate district of Glasgow assigned to him, is quite confident of being able at length to carry it through, without any recourse upon the assessment. Fourthly, one, who was the first

* At this point in the delivery of the Address, were read to the General Assembly extracts of letters, from certain of the Clergy of Glasgow, testifying the degrees of success wherewith they had hitherto conducted the management of their poor, independently of the assessments.

after St. John's to strike off from the General Session, and set up a separate administration of his own, has, in his parish, which is also a plebeian one, been going on most triumphantly. And, lastly, as if to mark that the nearer you approach the actual territory on which lie the materials of the question, the more consistent and clear is the testimony of observers,—I can vouch, both for myself and for all who are engaged with me, that we have ever found pauperism to be frightful only when seen through the medium of distance, or by the alarmed eye of him who refuses to grapple with it—that, like every other bugbear, it shrinks on approaching it into small and manageable dimensions—that it vanishes almost into nothing before the touch of personal intercourse—that the habit of our labouring classes can be made almost instantly to coalesce with the kindlier intercourse, but, at the same time, the humbler and homelier allowances of a sessional administration—or, in one word, that in the worst of places, and the worst of times, the simple and parochial economy of our beloved land, is the best apparatus that can be raised for the substantial well-being of the poorest of her children.

You will now understand the tenderness that I feel about this one article in our constitution for a Chapel of Ease. When once it is raised, the evening congregation will be disbanded, and it is presumed, that, chiefly out of their scattered fragments, an ordinary day congregation in the chapel

will be formed—a chapel which may, at any time, by the will of our Magistrates, be transformed into a church, with its territorial district into a parish. At all events, its collection comes in place of that evening collection wherewith, as I have already explained to you, I am now achieving all that is essential in the problem of pauperism. With my present day collection, I am positively doing nothing but clearing away the rubbish of the old system. It is with the parochial collection now offered to us in the evening at church, and then to be offered through the day at the proposed chapel—it is with it, and with it alone, that I am building up my experimental demonstration of the specific virtue which lies in the old and unadulterated methods of our Scottish pauperism. Touch this collection then, and you touch the apple of mine eye. Absorb it in a general fund, and place it under a general management, and you wrest from my hand the only instrument I have for bringing about this great civic and economical reformation. What I want is, that this humble revenue, drawn from parishioners alone, and the humble administration of it, confined by a local and independent economy to parishioners alone, shall stand out in separate and distinct exhibition altogether, from the glare, and the tumult, and the bustling attendance, and the wealthy offerings of the general congregation. I want thus to disencumber the operation from all that has misled the popular eye, and thrown a dis-

guise over the real powers and principles of its internal mechanism. It will positively be beyond the endurance of human nerves, if, at this most critical and momentous of all turning points, that weekly offering shall be seized upon, wherewith, apart from all the might and magnificence that have been charged on the crowded church, and the high-sounding popularity, there may be raised a spectacle which, in the eye of truth and calm intelligence, is worthier than it all—even the modest and belfried edifice, where the plain services of Christianity are held in the midst of a plain and parochial congregation; and the adequacy of whose humble but willing contributions, to all the urgencies of the large manufacturing district wherewith they are associated, shall be a monument to the end of time, both of the wisdom and the sufficiency of our own original, and sound, and Scottish pauperism.

And you must be aware, that the General Assembly cannot of itself legislate on pauperism—that this is a question which affects the civil rights and interests of those who are concerned in it—and that if there be any thing wrong or defective in the constitution of a parish, relative to the matters of its poor, this must be submitted to the revision of another tribunal, ere the affair can be fully and finally adjusted.

Now suppose for a moment, that there is something civilly and constitutionally wrong in our present operations. We have no wish whatever to stand out against the awards of law—and at all

times subject to its authority, we offer the entire and unconditional surrender of our sessional revenue into its hands. The General Assembly does not need to embarrass itself with this question, and all, in the mean time, that we supplicate at your hands is, that the collections at the chapel shall just be under the same disposal, and be applied generally to the same purpose, with the collections at the church—that as now the one is deposited with the Treasurer of our Kirk-Session, so the other shall be deposited with him also, and be expended at our discretion, subject of course to the control and inspection of the heritors, for behoof of our parish. Should the competent court afterwards assign a different application from this to the church offerings, let the chapel offerings be made to follow in the same direction—and with the enactment of some such clause, which will be abundantly satisfying to us, this venerable court will both maintain that delicate and dignified reserve which has ever characterised its proceedings, when it felt itself bordering on the department of civil law; and, at the same time, will avoid the monstrous anomaly of enacting one destination for the poors money of a parish church, and another destination for the poors money of a chapel belonging simply and exclusively to that parish.

To enact that the chapel collection shall go into a general fund, would be enacting for the city of Glasgow another constitution for its pauperism, than that which it at present enjoys. It would be

the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, sitting in legislative authority over the civil and municipal arrangements of its Burghs. The thing is utterly incompetent—and I am persuaded of this venerable Body, that it will resist any attempt which may be made to enlist it upon the side, or to engage it in the squabbles of a partizanship, that is altogether local and temporary—and, further, I am quite sure, that it will never lend itself to such an outrageous act of injustice towards the parish of St. John's, which still continues to pay its full share to the assessment fund, without drawing a single shilling out of it to the support of its families, as to thwart and overbear us in our attempts to improve our own condition, by means that are strictly constitutional, and out of capabilities which lie completely within ourselves.

And this is a subject on which I feel hopeful, that I shall not merely carry the convictions, but also propitiate the kindness of the Church of Scotland. For what is it after all that we are doing? Are we putting forth the sacrilegious hand of an innovator on the fabric of your venerable constitution? Any innovation of ours is but directed against the corruption of former innovators—it is to relieve the venerable pile of all those meretricious additions wherewith it has been overborne in later days—and clearing away that modern disguise which had hidden from the public eye its brow of deep and revered antiquity, it is to cause the pure, the patriarchal economy of the olden time, come

forth again in the might of its wonted ascendancy over all the habits of all the population. And well may I speak of my bosom's pride in the establishment to which I belong—and well may I claim to be numbered among the most affectionate of her children, when I tell that the fondest of my earthly ambitions, is to demonstrate the power, yet the peacefulness of her triumphs—and while the profoundest homage of the Christian minister is due to our venerable mother, because of the spiritual authority wherewith she is invested, to overawe and to repress the profligacy of our land, well may it be reckoned the next in worth and in dignity of her honours, that before the rebuke not of her severity, but of her persuasive kindness, she can chase away pauperism from all its dwelling-places. It is indeed a noble testimony to the ancients, and the counsellors who have gone before us, that, in the practical wisdom of our Scottish Kirk, there lies deposited a secret, which has baffled the whole political economy of our English Parliament—and that while the Legislature of our empire are now standing helpless and aghast at the sight of that sore leprosy which hath spread itself over their ten thousand parishes, the country in which we live, healthful and strong, in the yet unbroken habits of her peasantry, might, by the pure force of her moral and religious institutions, have kept herself untainted altogether, and is still able to retrace her footsteps, and to shake the pestilence away from all her borders.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

NOTE 1. P. 10. L. 12.—It is fair to mention here, that the vacant sittings of St. John's Church are now let on the understanding of a preference for parishioners. But it is obvious that this must tell very gradually on the congregation, of whom, meanwhile, the vast majority are extra-parochial.

NOTE 2. P. 11. L. 16.—We here proceed on the supposition, of five-eighths of the inhabitants of a city parish being the number that ought to be in church—leaving three-eighths at home, and so estimating the whole population who are provided for, by adding three-fifths to the number of sittings that are actually taken or occupied.

NOTE 3. P. 14. L. 8.—It is one of the most valuable properties of wise legislation, to reach its object with as little violence as possible done to the feelings of individuals; and with as little disturbance as possible inflicted on the existing order of things.

For the purpose of making this out, it will often wait a gradual process, rather than carry *per saltum*, or at once, the desired reformation. We know not a greater improvement

in the ecclesiastical state of cities, than the substitution of local, instead of general congregations, in all the parish churches—and this might be arrived at immediately, by the dismissal of all extra-parochial sitters, and the offer of their places to parishioners. But this were a cruel disruption on the habits and attachments that have been already formed by the people of our existing generation—and, therefore, it were far better that the thing should only be arrived at ultimately, as the fruit of an invariable regulation, whereby a preference for the vacancies should be held out to parishioners, as they occurred from year to year, by removals or by deaths. In this way no violence is done to any man alive. The change comes round smoothly and progressively. We find that such vacancies do take place, at the rate of nearly a hundred annually, in a congregation of sixteen hundred. This is a very comfortable rate, at which a minister is permitted to extend his interest and connection among the families of his parish—and he does well, if, in the course of a lengthened incumbency, he bequeaths to his successor an entirely parochial congregation.

But again, on the same principle, and to save from all injury the feelings of individuals, will legislation often be satisfied with having reached its object in the main, though not in full and absolute entirety. For the sake of this, it will often put up with a small fractional deduction from the amount of good that is proposed—and so, in order that its processes shall go on smoothly, will it make a partial sacrifice of its own views, as well, in the extent of reformation aimed at, as in the time of its accomplishment. It is for this reason, that, while by one article in the constitution of our chapel, we hold out a preference for the vacant sittings to the residents within its district; we, by another article, provide that these sittings shall not be forfeited by the removal of those who occupy them to some other quarter of the town or neighbourhood, if they have a wish to retain them. It is well that the connection has been formed at

first, in virtue of residence within the privileged territory—but, should a strong attachment to the ministrations of the chapel be felt in consequence, it were hard, we think, on a mere change of residence, that the connexion in question should, therefore, be forcibly dissolved. It is true that, in this way, an exclusively local congregation can never be arrived at—but yet one so mainly and substantially local, as without violence to any, will secure to the clergyman a comfort and an efficacy in his duties, of which hitherto, in our large towns, there has been little or no experience.

The truth is, that both the fluctuation of city householders, and the effect of this fluctuation in defeating the great object of a parochial audience upon the Sabbath, have been greatly over-rated. We are aware that some of our Elders, whose districts have a population of about three hundred, can allege a change of families, at particular terms, to the extent of more than a fifth part of the whole. But many of these removals are to contiguous streets, which are still within the limits of the parish—and besides, such a rate of fluctuation is only partial—so that in the whole parish, there is not certainly a greater emigration on any single year, than of one tenth of the whole population.

But, far the most effective solution of this difficulty lies in the consideration, that, of this tenth who leave the parish in one year, the greater part consists of those who first entered the parish only on the year before. We have nothing to apprehend like the successive liftings of the separate tenths of the population on each distinct term—so as, in ten years, to lose all the old, and stock the parish with an entire set of new and strange families. The real state of the matter is, that a certain number of families, in every term, are constantly upon the wing, and alternate, almost every year, from one part of the city to another; so as to cause an unceasing vibratory movement over the heads of a stable and permanent population. It is of these last that the church or chapel congregation would, in the main, be ultimately formed—and

with them, the great principle of territorial cultivation would be felt in the full power of its kindly and beneficent influences—and the week-day attention of the minister to these, will be found of happiest effect, in reclaiming their sabbath attendance upon him. Under such an arrangement, the ascendancy of all our established clergy in towns would be inconceivably strengthened; and a far closer and kindlier relationship would, from that moment, ensue between them and their respective parishes: insomuch that, with all the deductions which it might be proper to make, we are not aware of any human device by which the ecclesiastical system of our cities would be more effectually renovated, than the simple enactment of that rule of parochial seat-letting which we have ventured to recommend.

The neglect of this arrangement has inflicted a sore paralysis on the Establishment in cities. It has slackened the relationship between each clergyman and his parish. It has taken the whole benefit of locality away from him; and brought him down, in respect of moral and Christian influence over the families, to the precise level of the dissenting ministers. The assignation of a territorial district to each chapel, with a rule of preference for the seats to all who live in it, we hold of mighty importance to all the new erections that are going forward. In this way they will become the instruments of a distinct reclaiming process on the outfield population that has been assigned to them. Otherwise, this population might still abide in a state of unmoved heathenism; and the chapel congregation, instead of being formed or recruited out of their families, will be drawn very much at the expense of previous congregations, from that class of the community whose habits of church-going are not only already established, but may be said to have been refined into fastidiousness; to whom change is luxury, and who, ever agog on the impulse of novelty, are, in fact, the deadliest adversaries of that territorial system, wherein the great strength of our Establishment lies. For these too, there may always be some

room, even after the claims of locality have been fully recognized: for though the preference be to parishioners in the first instance, yet in so far as the preference is not taken, the seats may still be held out to the general public. For a fuller exposition of this topic, see No. III. of the *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*.

NOTE 4. P. 34. L. 5.—It must be confessed, that we now give salaries out of the day collection to our four schoolmasters, to the extent of a hundred pounds a-year; to the great benefit, certainly, of our parish poor, and along with them, of our whole parochial community, whose families are now provided with the best elementary education, at country rates. We have not yet obtained any express sanction from the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, the sole Heritors of our parish, for such an application of the money gathered at our church-doors. And our only apology for such a freedom is—that whereas we have repeatedly announced from the pulpit such a destination to our weekly offerings, if found more than adequate to the pauperism of the parish, and have, in consequence, stimulated the liberality of our congregation—we deem it quite legal to apply their contribution to the specific end for which they were solicited. We have no doubt of the legality of this destination on other grounds: but we fondly hope, for reasons which shall be urged presently, that any question on this subject will be superseded by a formal arrangement between the Heritors and Kirk-Session, making it quite competent to raise, from the overplus of the collections, a fund out of which shall emanate, in all time coming, the salaries of our parish schoolmasters.

NOTE 5. P. 36. L. 27. We are abundantly sensible that there are occasional passages in the Speech, which, however essential in the delivery, for the purpose of gaining a favourable decision, are not essential to the manifestation of

our process, in regard to the management of pauperism, which is the great end of this publication. We allude more particularly to those few sentences which may appear to touch on the borders of personality, and which might certainly have been omitted without disadvantage to the argument. But the truth is, that they have been so distorted, and so aggravated in the printed reports of the business of the Assembly, as to make a correct exhibition of these alleged severities necessary in point of justice, both to the author, and to the subjects of them.

It can be no impeachment on our adversaries in this argument, that there should be a difference of understanding between them and us, about a matter on which there still exists so wide a diversity of opinion as pauperism; and it is all in fair and honourable warfare that they should have fought out this difference to the very last. More particularly, do we regard it as a thing of official propriety, that Principal Taylor would not quit the cause of an old institution till he had tried every chance for preserving it. He, as minister of the original parish in Glasgow, was entitled to feel a peculiar interest in this question; and while, certainly not more tenacious than he had a right to be of his own views in the public controversy, we gladly bear him witness, that, in all our private interviews we have met with nothing but the most perfect kindness and urbanity at his hands.

And, while offering this explanation, we cannot refrain from a testimony which we owe to the cordiality and good-will that, with some very rare exceptions, we have ever experienced within the limits of our own parochial community.

A very few may have been misled in a season of great political delusion—and a few more may have mistaken the character and tendency of our endeavours against pauperism—and the many may have thus been influenced, under circumstances of peculiar urgency, to something like a public demonstration of their wish for the compulsory provision of England, and of their hostility to that system by which our own

country has been so long, and so happily characterized. But every one may know how easy it is to raise a temporary and artificial ferment throughout every assemblage of human beings, so as to call out a conventional exhibition of feeling, altogether diverse from that which meets our regards, when holding converse with families or individuals apart, we find them open to argument, and ready to enter on the fellowship of mutual explanations, with all the reason and right feeling of companionable men.

It is not from the warfare of formal meetings and formal manifestoes that we can gather the real character of a population, or acquire the right wisdom in the management of human nature. These are only to be gotten from that closer and more specific intercourse, which takes place during the treatment of particular cases, and the process of dealing with particular applications; and, often while so engaged, have we been reminded of an observation of Talleyrand's, that there is nothing formidable in the lower orders of society, if our intercourse with them be only conducted in frankness and honesty. The truth is, that it is upon their sympathies, one with another, that we would mainly devolve the solution of this whole difficulty—sympathies which are never wanting when they are not seduced from the exercise of them by the deceitful glare of public and proclaimed charity; and which, when restored to their natural play, amongst neighbours and kinsfolk, by the abolition of pauperism, will be sure to guide us ultimately forward unto a better served and better satisfied parish than before.

It is impossible, with such convictions as these, not to bear in our heart the utmost respect for the operative classes, and the utmost desire for all that is kind and conciliatory towards them. And sure we are that no feeling and no expression of cordiality towards them are ever thrown away. And it is indeed a strong prudential argument for committing the management of this concern to separate parochial jurisdictions, that, whereas, under a more general superintendence,

there must necessarily be an unwieldier multitude to deal with, and a wider distance of misunderstanding and jealousy between the parties—so, under a sessional superintendence, the mass is not only broken down into more practicable fragments, but the very nearness and personality of the intercourse admits a more copious descent of those regards and courtesies upon humble life, which do away a thousand asperities from the popular mind, and serve as an oil to lubricate and uphold in kindlier movement the whole mechanism of human society.

NOTE 6. P. 42. L. 1.—We trust that enough has been said in the course of the speech, to disprove the very general impression, that the retracing movement, by which the parish of St. John's has been conducted from a state of compulsion, to a state of gratuitous pauperism, is not imitable in other parishes, because of the fancied magnitude of our resources. It will be seen, that all which can be alleged of extraordinary or unexampled magnitude in our sessional revenue, goes to no other purpose than the speedier liquidation of the old system by assessments—a liquidation which has now been accomplished in our parish, and which, but for the admission of new cases on the compulsory fund would, in other parishes, be accomplished in a few years by the operation of death. If the new cases then can all be intercepted by the gratuitous fund, as they have hitherto been with us by a very small fund—then, there is not a parish in Glasgow, and we shall add, not a city or country parish in Scotland, which has not means within itself, and that lie within reach of the purely ecclesiastical system of our land, for upholding all its pauperism on its weekly church offerings alone.

But there is another impression against the practicability of our method, than that of the unexampled magnitude of our parochial means—and that is, of the unexampled and imitable strenuousness of our parochial management. It has

often been alleged against us—that out of average and every-day humanity, no such living apparatus can be raised of men embarked upon a cause, where the impulse of novelty, and the ambition of success, and the consciousness of many eyes turned in intense and eager scrutiny towards them, have altogether upholden them in a habit of activity and vigilance that cannot be looked for in other parishes.

Now this, if possible, is a greater and more groundless delusion than the other; and we rejoice that we can quote the testimonies of at least twenty competent and creditable men to its being a mere imagination. Each of the individuals who has been charged with the new pauperism of St. John's can vouch for the perfect facility of his own separate district—though the average population of each be from three to four hundred, and some of the gentlemen have had a management of at least eight hundred laid upon them. The truth is, that even in the winter of 1819–1820, the trouble and time requisite for the business, did not amount to one-half of what was anticipated for the most ordinary seasons—and now that matters have sunk down into a state of quiescence, the office, when compared with what has been fancied or alleged of it, is in truth the veriest of all sinecures. Many of the agents have, no doubt, a pleasure in holding friendly intercourse with the families—but certain it is, that all the yoke of constraint or necessity, which is laid upon them by the demands of the people, creates no sensible infringement on their own private business. In the office now, there is all the comfort of a great emancipation from the harassments of the old system—where, additionally to the whole labour of treating with the population, one had to clear his way through the labyrinth of a complex apparatus; and connected as he was with several bodies of management, had to waste his time in attendance on many meetings, and waste his strength on the fatigue of many controversies. All now is simple, and direct, and unencumbered as in a country parish—yet great as the relief is from the parochial and independent character of our present management, by which we stand dis-

embarrassed of all the more general corporations in the place, the most precious effect of the whole management is, that we have thereby been landed in a far more easy and better satisfied population.

The truth is, that they, and not we, have the merit of resolving this problem. All that is done by the administrators is, to meet civilly, yet intelligently, every application—and, in the treatment of it, to give, on the one hand, every possible countenance to the industry of the people themselves, and the kindness of their relatives, or neighbours; and, on the other hand, every possible discountenance to idleness, or immorality, or the hard-heartedness of kinsfolk. And in this way, each individual application may be more troublesome than under the old system—but then, the number of applications is greatly fewer than they were during the currency of its lax and careless administration. There is the forth-putting of a greater strenuousness than before, on the cases that do come forward—but the preventive influence of this on the many new cases that are, in consequence, withheld, forms at once the compensation and the reward for this strenuousness. It all resolves itself into the efficacy which lies in a natural treatment of the people, who, when emancipated from the delusions of public charity, betake themselves to their own expedients; and find in the shifts, and the sympathies, and the numberless resources that do cast up throughout every assemblage of human beings, more than an equivalent for all which has been withdrawn from them.

So thoroughly, indeed, are we persuaded of the evil of public charity for the relief of indigence, that we should count it a heavy misfortune to a parish, if an annuity was granted to it for the purpose of being expended on this object. We should feel seriously embarrassed, and would deplore it as a great parochial calamity, were it rendered imperative on us to restrict the application of our day-offerings to pauperism alone. We should refuse the importation of any money for this purpose, from the other and the wealthier parishes of Glasgow. Humble as our expenditure on the new pauperism

has been, we find that about one-half of it has been occasioned by cases of immorality, and the dissolution of relative ties—and should we be doomed to the cruel necessity of receiving a thousand a-year from any quarter whatever, and laying it openly out on the necessities of our population, we should only anticipate therefrom a greater number of exposed infants, and deserted families.

Still it may appear a mystery to the reader, why a parish should be in better condition with a moderate, than with an ample public expenditure for the relief of indigence; and it may help to bring it down more plainly and familiarly to his conceptions, to come forward with a few historical instances, taken at random, from the management of our own parochial concerns.

1. The first case that occurs to us, is that of a weaver, who, though he had sixpence a-day as a pension, was certainly put into circumstances of difficulty, when two winters ago, in a season of great depression, the typhus fever made its deadly inroads upon his household. His distress was, in the highest degree, striking and noticeable: and it may, therefore, look strange that no sessional movement was made towards the relief of so afflicted a family. Our confidence was in the sympathies and kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood; and we felt quite assured that any interference of ours might have checked or superseded these to such a degree, as would have intercepted more of aid, than is ever granted by the most liberal and wealthiest of all our public institutions. An outcry, however, was raised against us—and we felt compelled, for our own vindication, to investigate as far as we could, the amount of supplies that had been rendered; and actually found that it exceeded, at least, ten times the whole sum that would have been allowed, in the given circumstances, out of the fund raised by assessment. It reconciled us the more to our new system, when given to understand, that the most liberal of all the benefactions was called forth by the simple information, that nothing had been done by any of the legal or parochial charities—nor did we meet with any

thing more instructive in the course of these inquiries, than the obvious feeling of each contributor, that all he had given was so very insignificant. And it is just so, that the power of individual benevolence is greatly under-rated. Each is aware how incommensurate his own offering is to the necessity in question, and would therefore, desiderate or demand a public administration of relief, else it is feared that nothing adequate has been done. He never thinks of that arithmetic by which it can be computed, that all the private offerings of himself and others, far outweigh that relief which, had it issued from the exchequer of a session or an almshouse, would have arrested those numerous rills of beneficence that are sure to flow in, upon every case of visible destitution or distress, from the surrounding vicinity.

2. Our next case is that of an aged person, who, disabled from his ordinary work, made repeated applications for parochial relief, which were as repeatedly evaded, on the knowledge that he had competent and respectable kinsfolk, of whom we felt assured that they only needed a fair and candid representation of the matter—and we have no doubt, that they did acquit themselves rightly of all their natural obligations. Was it wrong, we ask, to devolve the application on this quarter—and we appeal to the surviving relatives, now that the applicant is in his grave—whether they do not look back with a truer satisfaction, than they would otherwise have felt, that a father and an uncle has been borne onward to the termination of his earthly career, in a style of independence which does honour to all the members of his family?

3. The next matter that is suggested to our remembrance, is that of an accidental visit to an old woman, and of the information she gave relative to the kindness of her next-door neighbour, in whose presence she told that she had received a dinner from her for every day during the preceding month. Was it wrong to encourage and applaud this liberality; to assure the humble donor that she had been doing more for the object of her kindness, than the wealthiest Session of the city would have awarded her; and that were it not for the mutual

kindness of the people among themselves, it were utterly impossible to carry on the management of the poor with any degree of comfort or efficacy? Is it not right that the people should be taught the importance of their own generosity—and does not the free and undisturbed exercise of this virtue add to the amount of parochial happiness, as well as to the amount of parochial morality?

4. A mother and daughter, the sole occupiers of a single apartment, were both afflicted with cancer, for which the one had to undergo an operation, while the other was so far gone as to be irrecoverable. A case so impressive as this, required only to be known that it might be met and provided for; and on the first warning of its necessity, a subscription could easily be raised, out of the unforced liberalities of those, who have been attracted from a distance, by the mere report of the circumstance having made its natural progress to their ears. And what then is it that suspends the necessity of such a measure?—the exuberant, and as yet untired kindness of those who are near, and whose willing contributions both of food, and of service, and of cordials, have lighted up a moral sunshine in this habitation of distress? Were it right that any legal charity, whatever, should arrest a process so beautiful? Were it even right that the interference of the wealthier at a distance, should lay a freezing interdict on the play of those lesser streams, which circulate around the abode of penury and pain? We want not to exonerate the rich from their full share in the burden of this world's philanthropy. But it is delightful to think that while, with their mightier gifts, an educational apparatus could be reared for good Christian tuition to the people, and good scholarship to their families, and so a barrier be set up against the profligacy of cities—there is meanwhile a spirit and a capability among the poor wherewith it is easy to ward off the scarcely inferior mischief of a corrupt and degrading pauperism.

5. Crime, that fertile source of pauperism, has exposed us to occasional demands, most of which have been reduced or disposed away from us by investigation. A person under

sentence of transportation, had left his infant daughter a likely burden on the parish. The application in its behalf was made by two aunts, when, on inquiry, it was found, first, that a pension, due to the father, could be fairly detained for the maintenance of the child; and, secondly, that the affection of its grandmother prompted her to offer this maintenance, on condition of being allowed the keeping and society of the child under her own roof. We just mention this as an instance, out of the many, of the power of patient investigation, in conducting us either to some resource, or to some right feeling, on which a necessity, that looked alarming at the outset, is at length done away.

6. We have given a few cases, taken from the short history of the sessional administration of St. John's parish. A very fine example of the natural sufficiency that there is among the people, under even the most trying of domestic reverses, took place a few years anterior to our connection with St. John's. A family of six lost both parents by death. There were three children, unable to provide for themselves, and the other three were earning wages. On an impression that they were not able to maintain themselves, application was made by them, to their elder, for the admittance of the three youngest into the Town Hospital; where, at the average of in-door pensioners, their maintenance would have cost at least twenty pounds a-year. He remonstrated with them on the evil of thus breaking up the family—on the duty of the older, to see after the education and subsistence of the younger branches—and on the disgrace it would bring to them, by consigning their younger brothers and sisters to pauperism. He assured them, that they would find comparatively little difference, in the sum which it required to maintain them, when they all remained together; and offered them a small quarterly allowance, so long as they should feel it necessary, would they try the experiment of keeping together, and helping on each other to the best of their ability. They gave way to this right moral suasion, and application for the stipulated quarterly sum was only made twice. Thus, by a trifling expendi-

ture, a sum, at least fifty-fold, was saved to the Town Hospital. But the worth of such management to the habit and condition of the family cannot be estimated in gold. Who is there that does not applaud the advice, and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We could hold no sympathy either with the heart or understanding of him who should censure such a style of proceeding—and our conceptions lie in an inverse order from his altogether, of the good, and the better, and the best, in the treatment of human nature.

The elder whom we have just alluded to has now stood nine years associated in this capacity, with a plebeian district of the town, that bears upon it a population of nearly four hundred. At the outset of his connection with it, the number of sessional paupers amounted to ten. They are now reduced to one; which, with the importation of one from another part of the city, make out the whole pauperism of this proportion to consist of only two individuals. He has not created any new pauperism in it since he first entered upon his functions—having found it quite easy, and at an expense that is altogether imperceptible, rightly, and most satisfactorily, to dispose otherwise of every application.

7. We have met with no one instance, during nearly these three years of our separate administration, out of which any thing like an argument could be drawn, for the practical necessity of a Town Hospital, or of any establishment that admitted in-door pensioners. There did, we understand, occur recently, in another parish of Glasgow, a case that might have alarmed a more indolent set of parochial rulers into the conclusion, that some supplementary or extraneous institution of this sort was quite indispensable. An aged and infirm female was ordered away from her tenement by its proprietor; and, on inquiry, it was found that there did not exist a single earthly relative, with whom she could be lodged. The patent way, in such circumstances, would have been to pass her to the Town Hospital, where she might have been received as one of the inmates. On making a round, however, amongst a few of the likeliest households in the vicinity, it was soon

ascertained, that an old woman, the solitary occupier of a humble apartment, would willingly admit her to a place at her fire-side, and the shelter of her roof, for the very moderate allowance of sixpence a-week. Will any one say, that the very comfort of this poor and interesting person, was not more effectually consulted by an arrangement, that served to domesticate her in a neighbourhood, where she still found a harbour and a home on the field of general society—than, if transported thence, she had been doomed to breathe out the remainder of her days in the cheerless atmosphere, and among the unhappy exiles of a poor's house? And, meanwhile, it may serve, perhaps, to rectify our notions of the apprehended necessity that there is for a Town Hospital—when made to know that, out of a nearly operative population of fifteen thousand, there has not occurred, in one half of them, a single instance of such necessity for about three years; and, in the other half, when there did occur, within the space of a twelvemonth, the threatening semblance of such a necessity, it was speedily dissipated by a few trifling inquiries. The friends and advocates of the parochial system were beginning to be a little fearful, from this solitary instance, of some mighty argument against their own favourite economy. But they were quieted again, on finding that, for sixpence a-week, they had purchased to themselves the entire benefit of a most decisive practical refutation.

Since we begun this narrative, some more examples have crowded upon our remembrance; but we should be in danger of becoming quite garrulous did we expatiate any further. The conclusion that we feel ourselves impelled to draw from the whole is, that legal charity is injurious, and in no way essential to the well-being of any assembled population—that the extinction of it will instantly be followed up by the renovation of such habits among the lower orders, as are eminently productive both of comfort and virtue amongst them—and, that upon the removal of this hurtful excrescence from the body politic, there will speedily become apparent, not only a tone of greater healthfulness than before, but a far kindlier

coalescence among all its members. The gratuitous and parochial will, at length, become the popular system; and, after it has lived down the many jealousies, and stood out the many hard speeches, wherewith now it is beset, among the ultra-politicians on either extreme of heated partizanship—will it, at length, be recognized as the only effectual instrument for bringing the rich and the poor into friendly approximation; and for harmonizing the now adverse elements of disdain on the one hand, and discontent on the other, into the permanent order of a tranquil and well-conditioned society.

We feel anxious to satisfy the reader, that the process which we have instituted for the extirpation of pauperism, in our own parish, is most perfectly imitable in all other parishes; and that with no other regime than that of nature and common sense, and no other treatment than a rational and respectful treatment of the population, there is no difficulty whatever in meeting the demands of human want, on the strength of such gratuitous means as may be drawn from the local territory within which it is situated.

And, of all the imitations which are now going forward, of this enterprise, in other places, there is none by which we are more gratified, or to which we look with a deeper and more engaged interest, than that which has been entered upon, with so much zeal and vigour, in the parish of Canongate. This populous suburb of Edinburgh contains, we understand, upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, and, till August last year, had the expenses of its pauperism defrayed, partly out of a compulsory, and partly out of the ordinary gratuitous fund; both of which were placed under the one administration of the Charity Workhouse. The Kirk-Session was mainly an organ of conveyance between the Charity Workhouse and the population; and the whole expenditure, under this system; was, in the year ending May, 1821, upwards of nine hundred pounds.

In the work of disengaging the gratuitous from the compulsory administration, this parish had not to contend with

the same political difficulties which beset the commencement of our own undertaking. It had not to unwarp itself from any general or extended combination of parishes. It was not at all implicated in the system of Edinburgh. It stood independent and alone within itself; and all that was necessary to set up a pure Scottish economy in the midst of it was, that its own two bodies, the Kirk-Session and the Managers of the Charity Workhouse, should be brought to a common understanding. They were thus relieved of the endless conflicts and complexities which are attendant on the business of taking down an old and very intricate apparatus; and when once the arrangement was concurred in, by which the Kirk-Session was vested with the sole and independent disposal of the Sessional revenue, the only remaining struggle was with those natural difficulties which lie in the management of the actual cases—in the treatment of the poor themselves.

The terms of the understanding appear to have been most distinct and reasonable; that the Session should assume the entire management of its own revenue, relieve the Workhouse of all its out-pensioners, and further, charge itself with all the new cases that should be offered from the population. At this rate, it is obvious that the assessment will expire with the dying away of the in-pensioners, and the payment of any debts that may have been contracted by the Workhouse. Should the experiment succeed, then will the Canongate pauperism, which now costs upwards of £900, be defrayed by a Sessional revenue that does not now amount to £400; thereby accomplishing a reformation, the value of which is not to be estimated by the mere difference between these two sums, but by the arrest that is thus decisively laid on a growing mischief, which carries in its womb the principles of its own acceleration, and bears still more deleteriously on the lower, than it does oppressively on the higher orders of society.

They have not yet had a long trial of their new mode of proceeding. But it argues well for their ultimate success, that what with their scrutiny of the old cases, and their care in

the admission of new ones, the number of paupers in the hands of the Kirk-Session has not only not increased beyond what they took in at first from the Charity Workhouse, but has even fallen from ninety-three to seventy-seven. They have, of course, kept by their original agreement of sending no new cases to the Workhouse; but, as if this were not enough of itself, to evince the power and productiveness of a Sessional management, they have, by an act of supererogation, which few, in the infancy of such an undertaking, would have dared to imitate, given, out of their first year's income, no less than £115 to the Charity Workhouse, towards the speedier liquidation of its debts. And, on the other hand, the management of this last seems to be equally prosperous; for, relieved as it now is by the Session, from the influx of new cases, it has, by deaths, and dismissals, and voluntary resignations, and the disposal of cases out of doors, reduced its number of in-pensioners from eighty-nine to forty-two. The object which appears to be aimed at is, as speedily as possible, to translate all their paupers into the condition of out-pensioners; a far more natural and comfortable state, certainly, for them—after which, a house, with its establishment, might be dispensed with altogether; and thereby a great saving of money be effected, none of which goes, in a personal or direct way, to the benefit of the poor themselves.

We have no doubt on our minds, that, with a perseverance in this career of true benevolence, their point will be carried; and a most impressive example be held out to the country of the cure of pauperism. We know not, out of Glasgow, where such another decisive *experimentum crucis* could be made, as in the Canongate of Edinburgh; and we are sure that it will be a most gratifying reward, both to the respectable ministers, and other official men of that parish—if, as the fruit of a cordiality and co-operation, which are but too rare among public bodies, the managers of the Workhouse, on the one hand, with the members of Session, on the other, shall, each labouring in their assigned places, at length succeed in

clearing away, from the domain of their joint superintendence, that sore nuisance, which is at once the bane and the burden of England.

It says much both for the Directors of the Town-Hospital of Glasgow, and the Charity Workhouse of the Canon-gate, that, without jealousy, or any offended sense of importance, they lend their willing concurrence to a measure, the final success of which consists in their own official annihilation. We deem it a nobler sacrifice to their country's good than any of which we read in Greek or in Roman story. Honour is dearer to many than existence; and sooner would they consent to the destruction of the person they wear, than to the destruction of the place they occupy. The latter therefore is, of the two, the higher votive offering at the shrine of patriotism.

No. II.

WE can figure nothing more instructive than the extemporaneous argument and remark of such an enlightened body of men as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on the interesting topics of the population, the popular necessity, both as to church and state. The unanimity of the venerable council, on all the topics, and the very slight and momentary notice that was offered to our expositions on the second point, is an abridged very much the benefit that we have derived from this stage of the proceedings.

The ecclesiastical part of the constitution, the various chapels, was all, in fact, completely submitted to the committees; and not at all stirred or questioned in the Assembly. It was remarked, by one of the members of the Committee, that the regulation by which the tithes were not to be forfeited by a removal of the minister from the confines of its territorial district, applied to nearly the preference that was given for the vacant places, to those who resided within these confines. This is a natural impression, on the instant that the matter is offered to one's contemplation, and we have frequently met with it. For our vindication of the article, notwithstanding, we refer to Note 3, of No. I. of the Appendix.

The Committee improved that article which provided for the minister's salary, by providing an eventual security for its being raised from £150 to £200 a-year. We should like if the state of the attendance were to warrant a much

larger emolument; nor do we despair of its at length doing so. We should feel inclined, however, to make the discretionary augmentation of his living depend, not on the success wherewith he fills the chapel from all quarters of the city, but on the extent at which he recruits and has formed his congregation out of the local vicinity that has been assigned to him. The temptation with a man of acceptable pulpit qualifications is, that he might feel satisfied if he can merely draw a full and crowded auditory, even though it should be at the expense of previous congregations; and therefore, without any accession of Christian good to the place, or any distinct and special blessing on the families of his own territory. It would multiply his usefulness ten-fold, if, on the office of minister to the chapel, there could be grafted the office of missionary to the alienated population around it. Every possible inducement should be held out to the habit of localizing his visits and his examinations among them: and it is just the parochial character of his sabbath congregation which serves, at once, as the indication and the trophy of his week-day laboriousness.

We are quite sure that we express the unanimous feeling of all the gentlemen who had to negotiate the business of chapels at the last assembly, when we say, that nothing could exceed the pains, and the patience, and the perfect cordiality wherewith all the details were modified, and arranged in the various committees—nor are we aware of any better title on which the supreme court can earn the gratitude of the country, than the ready patronage that has thus been awarded by it, to such measures as bear on the religious welfare of our population.

In the Assembly we had to sustain a few interrogations on pauperism, which served, in some degree, to mark the most urgent and prevailing impressions that are upon this topic. The question relative to the disposal of the accumulated surplus, is the one in which we feel most desirous to carry the sense and acquiescence of the public mind along

with us—because, if the application of every such surplus must be restricted to the mere subsisting of human indigence, we see not how a complete and conclusive deliverance from the evils of pauperism can ever be arrived at—whereas, if made applicable to other objects connected both with the good of the poor, and the general interest of the community, we see a cheering and most beautiful walk of philanthropy instantly opened to us.

We, in the first place, hold the most plebeian of all our parishes to be adequate, on its own resources, to the maintenance of its own poor; and that after the retracing movement, which we have endeavoured to point out, has been completed, it will be landed in a better condition than that which it has been made to emerge from.

But again, and agreeably to this, we further conceive, that any sum imported to such a parish, for public charity, from abroad, would put it into a worse condition than it would naturally assume, on being left to its own separate management and separate capabilities—that, as an example, it were better both for the comfort and *morale* of the Canongate, if, with its own sessional means, it had to meet its own pauperism, than if these means were augmented out of the surplus collection of St. George's—and, for ourselves, we should certainly decline the offer of any such foreign aid, as fitted both to slacken the care of our parochial administrators, and to deaden the sympathies, and the economies of our parochial population.

And, thirdly, if the surplus of revenue in the wealthier parishes of a city, is to be transferred for the relief of indigence to the poorer parishes, this necessarily calls for a body of superintendence, that shall preside over the distribution of it. And so it becomes unavoidable, that the town shall again be landed in a general management—and that all the advantages of the strictly parochial system shall be again forgone—and that all the laxity of administration, on the one hand, and all the delusive imagination, on the other,

which are quite inseparable from a bulky superintendence, shall be again entailed upon the community. So that we despair of any effectual reformation in the pauperism of cities, which does not proceed on the sufficiency even in the poorest districts of the parochial resources, under a strict parochial regimen, for all that ought to be publicly done towards the relief of indigence.

The question then recurs—if there is a surplus of collections in any parish after the demands of its indigence have been met—how ought it to be disposed of? We rejoice, that in as far as the sentence of the General Assembly possesses any authority upon this subject—the disposal of the collections lies at the joint option of the Heritors and Kirk-Session. It ought never, on this account, to be alienated from the interests of the population; and, therefore, do we regard it as the fittest application that can possibly be made of this surplus, to expend it, in the first instance, on the erection and endowment of parochial schools, for a cheap and good education to the parochial families.

But the parish of largest surplus, may stand least in need of any such provision for the scholarship of its children—and if not to be applied for the indigence of other parishes, is it therefore to lie idle and unoccupied, or must the liberality of the congregation be deadened, for the purpose of keeping down an inconvenient excess? No: It may, on the joint resolution of its Heritors and Session, be applied to the education of other parishes. The wealthier extreme of the city may send forth a tide of munificence, not to feed, but to undermine the pauperism of its operative districts—there, to rear in schools, or even in chapels, a moral apparatus, wherewith to tutor into loftier independence, the coming generation, and out of the hearts and habits of a more christianised people, to build up an everlasting barrier against the inroads of a system, which carries vice, and degradation, and wretchedness along with it.

It is thus, that after the old pauperism has all been liqui-

dated, and the poorer parishes have been left, as to the public relief of indigence, to manage and to provide for themselves—it is thus, that a right outlet may be found for the liberality of all the affluent congregations; from which there might issue forth a stream of healing water, to the remotest outskirts of a now corrupt and neglected population. This were, for many years, a befitting absorbent to all the surplus collections throughout a city—and with such an application for them, instead of acting like oil upon a flame, or nourishing, as they now do, that sore distemper which nought but a process of amputation will ever do away, they will neutralize the first elements of pauperism, by stifling them in embryo, on the soil of the popular character. With so high a destination for the Sabbath offerings, there would a spirit and alacrity be given to the benevolence that prompts them. For example, we know not how a more effectual impulse could be devised for the charity of those polite and wealthy congregations that assemble in the St. George and St. Andrew's of Edinburgh, than by making it subserve the endowment of schools in the Cowgate, or the extension of a village economy in the Grassmarket. We see not how, after the overthrow of the present system, the rich could better acquit themselves of the claims that destitute humanity has upon the bounty and beneficence of the higher orders. Nor, does it follow that the naked would cease to be clothed, or the hungry to be fed by them. Let hateful and heterogeneous legality be once detached from these ministrations—let that which ought ever to have been a question of spontaneous kindness, cease henceforth to be a question of right—let the cause of indigence, instead of being carried to our courts of justice, be fearlessly devolved on the compassion and unforced sympathies of nature—let but that transverse movement be rectified, whereby a matter of feeling has been turned into a matter of obligation, and fierce litigation has made its stormy inroads on a province which gratitude and good-will alone ought to have occupied—let every right thing

that should be done amongst human beings, be suspended on the right and appropriate principle that has been implanted in our constitution, to stimulate the doing of it—let the payment of debts, and the fulfilment of bargains, be laid upon the sense of equity in our bosoms, and the succour of distress be laid on that pity which, when unruffled by the din of claims, or controversies, is ever awake to her imploring voice—and when nature is thus relieved of the strain wherewith, in the excess of jurisprudence, it has been so sadly overborne, it will break forth at large over the whole domain of human suffering: The rich and the poor will again meet in confidence together—and that field, which by one blunder of our legislature, has been strangely transformed into an arena of outcry and debate, will again be refreshed by the growth of those free-born charities, that are fully adequate of themselves to all the needs and all the exigencies of our species.

It was on these principles, that when asked how we meant to dispose of the surplus revenue of the Kirk-Session of St. John's, our reply was, that we wished to allocate it to the endowment of parochial schools, for the sake of cheap and good education to the families of the parish.

In the speech of Principal Taylor, we could observe such a substantial agreement between him and ourselves on some of the more important principles of the question, that we will not despair of at length obtaining his most desirable and valuable concurrence in the parochial system. He doubts whether the collections be applicable to any other object than the relief of indigence. But this might be postponed as an ulterior question, the settlement of which is not essential at the beginning of a separate and sessional administration. And he thinks it impracticable to enforce a law of residence amongst the parishes of Glasgow. Neither is this indispensable at the outset—though we do not apprehend greater difficulties in the practical observation of it, than such as we have daily experience of in the movements that are ever taking place between the city and its suburb parishes. We should

certainly feel relieved by such a law, for our imports from the pauperism of Glasgow have exceeded considerably the exports that have been made from our own pauperism. We most cordially admit the truth of his observation, that the poor shall never cease out of the land—and just for the purpose of reaching these poor with a kindlier and better ministration, we should like to have pauperism done away. It is true, as he rightly remarks, that in every great city the rich and the poor live apart from each other; yet we feel assured that there are better ways of filling up the distance between them, than by a committee of general superintendence, which shall be the organ of distribution for all the money that is levied from the wealthy, and whose care it shall be to equalize the public charity, according to the necessities of the respective districts.

But, in no part of his speech were we so fully disposed to go along with him, than when he offered what appears to us a just and sound explanation of the abridgment that has taken place last year on the expenditure of the Town Hospital. Many of the friends of the parochial system have ascribed it to the relief which that institution has experienced by the influx of new cases having ceased from St. John's, and some of the other parishes. For ourselves, we should rather wave this compliment. We hold the Principal's account of it to be the right one—namely, that it is referable in the main, to the improved condition of our operative classes, and the fall in the price of necessaries. We count it possible, that while the present state of things lasts, no great or sensible relief may be experienced by the Town Hospital. It is true, that five parishes are in a fair way of being at length disengaged from it. But other five still continue to receive their wonted supplies out of the fund which is administered by the Directors of that institution; and with a very slight relaxation of management, may their pauperism be not only kept up to the present amount of the assessments, but may even call, as of old, for larger levies than before. Nor is

it at all unlikely, that on such being the event, this perverse and injurious construction may be founded on it—that the parochial system has done no good—that it has been tried and found wanting—that it has been established in one half the parishes of Glasgow, and yet the burdens of the whole community are as great as ever. The reflecting observer must, at once, see where the fallacy of such a conclusion lies. The parochial system makes a most complete and conclusive demonstration of its efficacy, if it clear from compulsory pauperism the whole of that field over which it operates. It is surely not responsible for the excess, or the mismanagement of the parishes where it is derided and disowned—and should the assessment still maintain its wonted level, or even rise above it, after one-half of Glasgow has ceased to draw any supplies therefrom; this, instead of reflecting upon the new system, will only serve to aggravate the impeachment against the old one. It will just evince the more its powers of mischief, and how mightily creative it is of pauperism and all its attendant evils—if, though hemmed within a narrower field of occupancy than before, it shall nevertheless have appetite and room both for its former allowances, and for those which its more generous neighbours have forborne. And should the assessment, therefore, continue to be raised as now, from the whole city, while its expenditure, though confined to one fraction of it, be nearly as great and as oppressive as before, we trust, that it will be intelligently seen, where it is that the mischief lies; and that the public hostility against the old system will become more resolute and unsparing than ever, on the discovery, that not till it is rooted out from all the parishes, will the benefit of the new system ever come to be rightly felt or fully recognized.

But there is one circumstance which, more than any other, makes us hopeful of a speedy concurrence on the part of the other parishes. It says much for the proposed reformation, that it has so easy, and so practicable an outset. The Reverend Principal himself thinks, that had he the new cases

alone to provide for, he could do it on the strength of his collections, for several years to come. We perfectly agree with him in so thinking; and we only beg him to reflect on the rapid disappearance of the old cases, during the period that he is thus engaged with the new ones. The truth is, that there is not a Kirk-Session in the city which could not, with due management and care, stand out all the new applications, aye, and until the Town Hospital had died a natural death, and the habits and expectations of the people had ceased to be associated with any other public charity, for the relief of indigence, than that which is offered by the parochial system alone. So that the only initial arrangement which needs to be entered upon, with each of the remaining parishes, is to relieve, out of the assessment fund, each of their Sessions from the overplus of poor that are upon them, and perhaps to stretch the relief with some of them so far, as to take off all their existing cases together; and thus leave them a totally disencumbered revenue, wherewith to begin a new score, and to embark on a new pauperism, that, minute and manageable in its infancy, will never, under right discipline, gather into a magnitude that shall outstrip or overbear them.

At the commencement of our proceedings in St. John's, we undertook the whole of our Sessional poor, the yearly expense of which amounted, at that time, to £225. This, with the anticipated collection of £400 a-year, left us a surplus of £175. But we had not then ascertained by experience, as we now have, the rate of influx for the new cases: and the door of relief from the pressure of a yet dreaded accumulation, by the egress of old cases to the Town Hospital, was now conclusively shut against us. The event, however, far exceeded even our most sanguine anticipations; and, in less than two years, we found ourselves able to extend our original offer to the Town Hospital. So that, additionally to the relief of sending them no more new cases, we were able to propose the further relief of taking off, from the fund by assessments, every old case that could be traced

to the parish of St. John's. But though able, for our own parts, we certainly were not willing for any such proposal. We, in the first place, thought it a better destination for our surplus revenue, to hasten therewith, the endowment of our parochial schools. And, in the second place, we thought that the exhibition of any sudden or marvellous achievement would serve to confirm the impression, that was already too much abroad, as if the process that we were engaged in *was*, on the whole, of such a Quixotic and extraordinary character as to distance all imitation. We felt that, by this new proposal, we should ingraft and superinduce upon the retracing movement, what was not at all indispensable to its ultimate success; seeing, that by a simple arrest on the influx of new cases to the Town Hospital, that institution would experience a sure, though gradual relief from the old ones. We wanted to sustain the character of our enterprise, as being that of a steady and slow-going operation, which might be copied in all the parishes, rather than surround ourselves with the meteoric glare of such a wonder-working apparatus, as would somewhat bear upon it the aspect of jugglery to all common observers. Much rather would we approve ourselves, in this matter, to the most grave and sober-minded of the regular faculty, than send forth, from the stage on which we performed, any such empirical display, as might draw an homage from the popular eye, like unto that which is rendered, by the credulous, to a quack or a mountebank. And so, rather than strike an exterminating blow on the old compulsory pauperism of St. John's, would we have deemed it to be in better taste, and truer accordancy with that wisdom which is both deeply seated on the invariable principles of human nature, and widely applicable, over the whole extent of it, had we left this pauperism to its own natural decay, and suffered it to live quietly out its appointed generation.

In the face of all this, however, an impatience was felt for the completed result of a parish wholly emancipated from its compulsory pauperism; and certainly it was an impatience

which many good and many enlightened men would sympathize with. It was, therefore, at length given way to, and the extended offer of relief has, after some difficulty, been acceded to, by the Town Hospital. And we have here, with gratitude, to remark, that this movement, which we thought premature, furnished us with by far our most effective weapon of defence, in the premature discussion that we were called to engage in. It was the narrative of this, our full and final accomplishment, that told, and was of greatest weight in the General Assembly. And we cannot but hold it as providential, that a measure, for the establishment of which we had to surrender our own will, and our own way, was the instrument of a unanimous decision, for which that court might not have been otherwise prepared—a decision which only needs to be acted upon, in order to break up all the general managements of pauperism in towns, and to substitute the more wholesome administrations of the parochial system in their room.

And here, would we venture to suggest to our friends in the Canongate, that by the primary arrangement alone, between their Kirk-Session and their Charity Workhouse, did the latter receive its effectual death-blow—that simply, by the arrest laid upon the influx of new cases, it will come, in a few years, to its sure annihilation—and that, without any increase of assessment, the surplus of the present levy, over the constantly diminishing expense, will, of itself, liquidate, and very speedily too, the whole amount of debt that is upon the institution. At the same time, the desire is most natural to expedite the death of the old system—and we can perceive that, under the operation of this desire, the Kirk-Session of the Canongate have extended the additional relief of £115 to the Charity Workhouse, within these few months—and most surely it is not for us to express any surprise at such a gratuitous effort in another parish, as we have already yielded to in our own. Our only fear is, lest, when thus left without the little capital they had themselves accumulated,

there should be any misgiving felt, when an unlooked for or extraordinary demand comes in their way. With the conscious possession of a stock, there would, for example, have been less apprehension—on the event of a poor lunatic woman having been abandoned by her unnatural husband, and the parish being saddled, in consequence, with an expense of twenty pounds a-year. It is most true, however, on the other hand, that the conscious possession of a stock may relax the care and vigilance of the parochial administrators—and, therefore, do we quit these remarks, in the full confidence, that under its present enlightened superintendence, the Canongate of Edinburgh will soon afford a striking practical attestation both to the sufficiency and the wisdom of Scottish pauperism.

And there is an impulse to a strenuous administration in the Canongate, which is wanting to any single parish in Glasgow. It will there bring a distinct and immediate benefit upon the householders. As the old pauperism dies away, the assessment will die away along with it—and the relief that is thus effected falls upon the property that is within the parish. It is not so in Glasgow. A parish there, after it has ceased to be altogether a burden on the assessment, still continues to bear its full share of it. If a poor parish, its share of the assessment is, no doubt, small—but then its share of pauperism, under the system of general management, is proportionably great—and, therefore, by setting up independently for itself, it will draw a much larger burden from the fund than what would be remitted to it, by its assessment being done away. The parish of St. John's, from its place in the gradation of wealth, may not contribute a twentieth part of the assessment of Glasgow. But then, had it continued to draw out of the assessment it might, at the ordinary rate of management, have burdened the city with the addition of, at least, an eighth part to the whole expense of its present pauperism. It is a hardship to St. John's, if, after relieving Glasgow of so large a fraction of its expenditure, the

small fraction which it contributes to the levy shall not be remitted—if it shall still be called upon to sustain a load, while it creates none of it—and after having wrought its way to that station of independence which it now occupies, and lifted off, from the general community of the place, the whole of its own pauperism, it shall be summoned to pay for the pauperism of other parishes. We can discover a growing feeling in St. John's, of the assessment which continues to be levied there being an unfair exaction: And, now since the triumph of the parochial system has been completed, have these outbreaks of a sense of injury become more free and more frequent than before.

We certainly cannot but participate in this feeling. A parish that ceases taking from the assessment fund, should also in equity cease giving to it—and more especially, when by ceasing to take, it relieves that fund of a greater sum than it withdraws, by ceasing to give. When the cost of a parish is greater than its contribution, then the town makes a good bargain with that parish by breaking off from all intromissions with it; and, it looks ungenerous as well as unfair, that, after it has eased the community of its own heavy charge, it should still be burdened with any part of the charge of other parishes. This is now the precise condition of the parish of St. John's—paying its full share of the assessment, yet deriving not from it a single farthing for the behoof of its families—so managing its own resources as to draw nothing from the great legal treasury for its own pauperism, yet still drawn upon, as before, for all the waste and mismanagement that may be going on around it—helping to uphold that revenue from which it reaps no benefit, and over the expenditure of which it has no control—thus subsidizing the whole of Glasgow out of its own scanty means; and, all plebeian though it be, by the sweat of its own brow, and the strenuousness of its own efforts, so labouring as to render that support to others, which from others it has now ceased to receive.

We give out our impressions thus strongly, that the claimants in St. John's for relief from the assessment, might perceive, that the rightfulness of their demand is neither misunderstood nor unfelt by us. Yet would we earnestly admonish them to be patient—and to wait, if peradventure relief may come to them, on coming to all, by the adoption of our plan in the other parishes. It were greatly better that, without litigation, it should come in this way—and should this hope be tardy of fulfilment, even in the meantime ours is the more honourable position—being like to that member of the family who contributes to the expense of the establishment, and yet refuses to lay upon it the burden of his own maintenance. And besides, redress will be more readily gotten by a sense of justice operating on the discretion of our rulers, than by legal controversy—and we have no doubt, that all which is proper and practicable will be done to reduce that glaring inequality, which we have now ventured to expose.

The difficulty is, that if exemption be granted to one parish on its becoming independent, whose cost has been greater than its contribution, then the same may afterwards be demanded by another parish, whose contribution was at all times greater than its cost. What may be a very gainful bargain with St. John's would be a losing bargain with St. George's—and should the latter parish withdraw the whole of its pauperism from the Town Hospital, yet its payments to that institution could not, on this account, be dispensed with. It were well, perhaps, to ascertain from the books of the assessors, and of the Town Hospital, how the proportion stands in all the parishes; and simply to remit the assessment to every parish on the commencement of its independence, whose cost, for a given number of years previous to the outset of its reforming processes, has been greater than its contribution. This were holding out a bounty upon reformation to those parishes where such an encouragement was most needed, and from the success of whose attempts the public at large would reap the greatest deliverance.

We have no doubt, that under the operation of such an enactment, the cause of the parochial system would be mightily speeded in the very poorest of the districts that are within the royalty—and that, with the reward before them of a total remission from the burden of assessment, as the instantaneous effect of their pauperism being totally disengaged from the assessment fund, there is not a parish in the city, whose proprietors and householders would not furnish the most important facilities to its Kirk-Session, for hastening on its patriotic enterprise to the wished-for termination.

So soon as the assessment is remitted to the parish of St. John's, we can perceive how the boon will be felt—and what a mighty impulse will be thereby given to the whole of our parochial economy. Such a sensible demonstration of its efficacy, would instantly tell on the whole of the influential class that reside or have property within our bounds—and many are the shopkeepers, and respectable tradesmen, and owners of tenements, who, scattered throughout the mass of our population, would become the very best auxiliaries that our Session could count upon. One thing we are sure of, that that most valuable of all co-operations, the co-operation of their kindness, each in the little recess of his own neighbourhood, would never be a-wanting. On the moment that extorted charity ceased, spontaneous charity would break forth at will—and a last visit from the tax-gatherers of the great city Hospital, were to us the conclusive signal for the opening up of innumerable flood-gates, to which we might safely confide the relief and the sustenance of all the needy, and all the meritorious among our families. It would turn our parish into a great home-stead, within the limits of which idleness might find no harvest, yet starvation be a moral impossibility—while the exhibition of it, as a privileged and exempted territory, would do more than by any other public act of magistracy could be done, to speed the adoption of its separate and independent method in other parishes.

Nor is it to save the purses of the wealthy, but to save the principles of the poor, that we thus urge our own views on the subject of pauperism. We should like the abolition of public charity, not to exonerate the one class, but to exalt the other class; and to place the comfort and well-being of the lower orders on a securer basis. For this purpose, we would like the pomp and the publicity of every institution which has ever been reared for the alleviation of general indigence, to be henceforth done away; because we think that their whole effect has been to congeal the sympathies of the giver, and to corrupt the habits of the receiver—thereby undermining those primary guards, which Nature herself hath provided, against the extremes of human wretchedness. It behooves all who profess such doctrines to vindicate their own consistency; and while firm in resistance to all that would tempt the labourer from the sobriety which he owes to himself, and the duty which he owes to his kinsfolk—it is theirs both to strew the private walk of charity with many offerings, and to signalise their hostility to the degradation of the lower orders, by their munificent patronage of all that serves to raise or to enlighten them. It is thus, that they who are foremost in the abolition of pauperism, should be foremost in the great cause of popular education—and far their most triumphant defence against the imputations that are cast upon them, because of the hundreds they save by the one, would be their ready and cheerful expenditure of thousands upon the other. Let the expense all be theirs—let the gain be that of the coming generation. In the great work of extending both the scholastic and the ecclesiastical system of all our over-peopled parishes, will the enemies of pauperism find an ample field on which to illustrate the force and the purity of those philanthropic feelings by which they are actuated—and while sustaining the heat and pressure of the day, it should be to them enough of consolation, if along with a less burdened estate, they shall bequeath a more virtuous posterity to succeeding ages.

We think, that should the parish of St. John's be unburdened of its assessments for the poor, it ought, on its own resources, to complete its system of parochial education. This will require the erection of another fabric—nor are we aware of any quarter from which the means ought more readily to be gathered, than from those who have just experienced the deliverance for which we are now pleading. And we know not a more appropriate monument to be placed over the grave of parish pauperism, than a parish school; nor, one that is better fitted to close impregnably up the gate of the sepulchre, and keep its noxious inmate from ever bursting forth again on the society that had so celebrated its last obsequies. We wait, till our civic rulers, having found that we should not pay for what we do not use, shall stop that annual levy, which is the only vestige of the old system that remains with us. After which, we look for a most salutary reaction among our own people—who, joining with one heart for the better and higher scholarship of their families, need, after the fulfilment of this honourable aim, stand in no fear of the resurrection of pauperism.

Our last remark on the business of the Assembly, is the obvious want of all respect and recognition that there seemed to be among them for such a Body as a General Session. The truth is, that it bears no constitutional character whatever—and as to any right of control over separate Sessions, has no more of it, than would a company of ministers met together at a sacrament, or a presbytery dinner. It impresses us more with the idea of a club, which may have its rules and its funds certainly; and between the members of which there may be a sort of conventional understanding—but most assuredly with no power of jurisdiction over any of the regular courts of our establishment, however inferior they may be in the scale of precedence. It is altogether, in short, a blotch or a diseased excrescence on the ecclesiastical system—and it is well, that, by the removal of it, our Kirk-Sessions in Glasgow have been restored to their primitive character,

and have the same simple and intelligible place, with the Kirk-Sessions of country parishes—having no other relationship to the other corporations of the city, than that which subsists between itself and the Magistrates, regarded as Heritors; and subject to no other control than that of the Presbytery and superior judicatories of our church. It was altogether in this sound constitutional spirit, that the Assembly not only confirmed that article in our constitution for a chapel of ease, which gave so much offence, but have mightily improved it. We were willing, for peace, to put up with the regulation, that the chapel collections should be disposed agreeably to the existing arrangement, between the Magistrates and ten ministers of Glasgow—but it was a most important and happy substitution, that the disposal of these collections should be subject to no other arrangement than that which might be resolved upon, between the Magistrates and Kirk-Session of the parish wherein the chapel was situated. The question will be altogether confined to these two parties, and never can be agitated among the ten ministers; and surely it is better for us all, when the chances of, and exposures to controversy, are lessened to the uttermost. For ourselves, it is vastly comfortable and refreshing, that we now have a place of occupancy, in a mechanism which one can comprehend—that, we are now relieved from the perpetual justlings and collisions, which were quite unavoidable among the intricacies of the old system—that we have at length got out of that dark and tortuous labyrinth, where conveners, and clergy, and elders, and committee-men, were in constant danger of treading on one another—that conclusively rid of all this bustle and bewilderment, there is nought before us that is at all above the capacity, or the landward habits of a plain country minister, fresh from the simplicity of his original parish—that he has just to meet with his Session, and to treat with the Magistrates, in like manner as he wont to meet with the plain rustic eldership of his former kirk, and to treat with the lairds—and best of all, that now

he has not to be overborne with the weight of those city managements, which went to transform him out of all the priestly characteristics of his order—but taking what time he may in his closet, and what time he may in the labours of parochial cultivation, he will be sure, on the strength of his sacred duties, and his clerical proprieties alone, to be welcome in every circle of society, and to earn an affection and a courtesy from all ranks of the population.

No. III.

It may be thought, that we have carried our explanations on the subject of Scottish pauperism to a degree of minuteness that is altogether tedious and uncalled for. But it should be noticed, that we have something more to gain than the mere understanding of the reader; that we are not addressing ourselves to the merely speculative economist, but, that we have to guide, and, if possible, to stimulate the energies of practical men. The reiteration which were tiresome to the former, carries in it, as we have often experienced, the very impulse that is necessary to drive in the obstinate resistance of the latter, and to set them a-going. Without great plainness, and plying urgency, and patiently returning to the charge, after the labour of many ineffectual demonstrations, nothing will be done. And it is under this impression, that ere we conclude, we would fain have one word more of application, on the way wherein all that is compulsory in the pauperism of Scotland, may be broken up and dissipated.

When the parish stands singly and aloof from all the complexities of an intricate and extended combination, as in country or suburb parishes, the arrangement is come to more easily. In some of these cases, the compulsory and gratuitous funds are thrown into one sum, and placed under one administration—and in other cases, they are administered separately. The way in either case, is to open up different accounts for these funds, if not to place them under different administrations. The last way is the best, when the existing ma-

chinery admits of it. But, at all events, let the money that has been levied, be exclusively applied to the paupers upon the roll at the commencement of the proposed reformation; and let all the new applications be met with and managed on the Sessional revenue alone. It may happen that this revenue is large; in which case, a good many of the already existing paupers may be attached to it from the outset, as in the parishes both of Canongate and St. John's. In other cases the revenue may be so small, that to encourage the operation, it might be wise to relieve it of the existing pauperism altogether. So that, for the first year or two, the fund by assessment may have fully a greater weight of pauperism upon it than before. It were as well, indeed, in every instance of a new arrangement, that the Session were left with an overplus on hand of its own proper revenue, above the expenditure that was laid upon it at the first. For the consequent pressure that would thus be felt by the other fund, there would soon be a relief and a compensation in the death of old cases, and the cessation of all influx from the new pauperism. And there is no doubt, that with a sufficient complement of elders or deacons—and the assignation of a small district of the parish to each of them—and a resolved spirit on their part, not against the poor, but against a system which has made the poor more wretched and mis-thriven than before, they will succeed in ridding the parish of a great moral evil, and restoring it to the pure and gratuitous economy of a Scottish parish.

But when, instead of a parish standing singly and disjoined from all others, under an independent regimen of its own, it be implicated with two or three more, as in some of our second-rate towns, or, perhaps, with a cluster of from ten to twenty, as now in Edinburgh, and recently in Glasgow, it requires somewhat more of management to disengage it. If its Kirk-Session be very poor, then we think, that it may be relieved by the assessment fund of all its pauperism together; and be left freely to try the process *de novo*, with the whole amount of its proper resources, whereby to meet

all the coming applications. If its Kirk-Session be very rich, then a due amount of the existing pauperism of its own parish may be laid upon it; and should there be an excess of revenue, over even the whole of its pauperism, as now in St. John's, then may this excess be applied, first, to the raising of a good parochial system of education within its own limits, and afterwards, in carrying that system abroad among the other parishes*. In the work of all these initial adjustments with the various parishes, the Charity Workhouse will find at the outset, a slight augmentation of pressure upon its funds. But this will speedily subside; and then, by a rapid disappearance of the old pauperism, an equally rapid liquidation of the assessment will be felt every year by the citizens. An increase of collections, if necessary, would be the sure effect of this experience in all the churches. And, at all events, it will be due, not to a want of means, but entirely to a want of management, if, in any one instance, the enterprise shall fail. Each parish will, in a few years, emerge into independence; and even in the most populous cities, within the pale of our establishment, the last vestiges of the corrupt system of England will all have melted away, under the powerful and purifying influences of our own better economy.

And we would here suggest to those wealthier Sessions that are able to relieve the Charity Workhouse of some of its pauperism, that they should still suffer it to continue under the administration of its Managers, only paying the expense of it, at stated terms, to that institution. It is greatly better, that the elders should not come personally into contact with the management of any of the old cases; but that all their intercourse as administrators for the poor, should be with the new pauperism alone. It is thus that the Town Hospital of Glasgow, while it has consented to the relief

* In this way the cause is most powerfully served in these parishes—as education is, by far, the strongest moral corrective against pauperism that can be devised. On the subject of city schools, and the best method of making them to bear on a city population, see a pamphlet entitled “Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantage of establishing them in Large Towns.”

that was proffered to it by the Kirk-Session of St. John's, has kindly and liberally undertaken to be still the organ of conveyance as before, for the supplies of our old pauperism; having agreed to present a quarterly account of the expense from which it is, henceforward, delivered—but willingly postponing their deliverance from the trouble, till all the existing cases in their list shall have died away.

We wholly refuse the charge of an unfeeling hardihood towards the poor, in any of these processes. The system that we want to restore will, in the first place, work a ten-fold compensation for all which might appear to be withdrawn from them, in the renovation of their own habits, and the then augmented resources of their own economy. And, in the second place, while it will be sure to reinstate in wonted force, the duties of children and of kinsfolk, and so cause nature again to stretch forth that helping hand, which law had, by its intermeddling, put back; it will also bring out the liberalities of the affluent in a character of freedom and good will, which they altogether lose on their passage to the population, through such ducts of conveyance as the hands of city assessors and the distributions of a poor's house. Every ministration of relief which shall thus be made to descend upon humble life, will be accompanied with the charm of that living sympathy by which it has been prompted; and the whole effect of this better way to soothe and to satisfy the lower orders of society, he only can tell, who, once in penury himself, can recollect how far the goodness of his friend outweighed, in power of comfort over his spirit, the gift that emanated therefrom. It is the deed of alms-giving which brings the food and the raiment into the habitations of the destitute; but it is the generous impulse that gave it birth which finds its way into their hearts. From the great legal institution the naked provender is carried forth, and not one moral influence of charity goes along with it. It is only in the unseen walk of human kindness, as it plies its secret visitations and makes its affectionate inquiries—it is only there, where charity brightens into its own genuine aspect, and by

its thousand nameless delicacies, can, along with the beneficence which it showers upon humble life, waken the gratitude and fond regard of all its families.

This is the way to disarm the city multitude of all that is formidable; and had it no other recommendation, it is the bland and benignant influence of a parochial economy upon the popular mind, which should quicken the effort of all our philanthropists to extend and to perfect it. Nor do we know of a likelier method by which to hasten it forward, than by the multiplication of chapels of ease, and more especially when a territorial district, tantamount, in fact to a new parish, is attached to each of them. Each parish in Glasgow, averaging as it does, towards 8,000 inhabitants, admits of being, at least, bisected in this way; but they are our enormous suburb parishes that stand most in need of these institutions. The Barony parish of Glasgow has upwards of 50,000 inhabitants, and the West Kirk parish of Edinburgh has little short of this number—thus imperiously calling for a more extended moral apparatus, wherewith to confront both the pauperism and the profligacy of their respective populations.

There is a very patent and discernible way, by which to make either new churches, or new chapels subservient to the abridgment of pauperism. Their collections will be altogether new; and therefore, without detracting from the funds that go, at present, to the support of the old pauperism, they may be wholly left in the hands of an agency sanctioned and set apart by the Kirk-Session, for the treatment of all the new applications from the districts which are respectively assigned to them. Let there be a good complement of elders or deacons provided for each chapel—and let these have each his own manageable locality or sub-district assigned to him—and let them all be made to understand, that out of the money gathered at the church-doors, the new pauperism is meanwhile to be met—and that it lies with their own good management whether all the demands of this pauperism might not be rightly provided for from the fund which they administer, even till it has reached its maxi-

mum, or till the old cases shall all have died away. Then it is, that their enterprise shall have reached its consummation. The adequacy of chapel offerings to the necessities of the chapel district will be proved experimentally; and it will indeed be a precious service, done by the band of philanthropists who have been attached to this work, that they have reclaimed their own allotted territory to that gratuitous economy of old Scottish pauperism, which will ever be found enough for all the demands of all our population.

It is thus that our city and suburb domains may, piecemeal and successively, be cleared of all their compulsory pauperism. Were we asked to specify the right population, either for a parish or a chapelry in towns, we should fix on three thousand, as the number that, ecclesiastically, could have the same week-day attentions rendered to them by the minister, as are practicable in the average of our country parishes; a compensation for the larger number being had in the narrower extent of the ground, and the contiguousness of its families. It is comfortable to think, that by thus halving each of the parishes of Glasgow, a tolerable approach would be made to this number for each of its ecclesiastical labourers—so that while, by the simple device of erecting a chapel for each of them, the Christian efficiency of our establishment might be doubled, there can be no doubt, that under such an arrangement, the whole of its compulsory pauperism might easily be made to disappear. There is no such chapel, whose collections might not be made to meet in perpetuity, all the new pauperism that should be admitted from the district which has been annexed to it, even though it were a population of three thousand and upwards. We should imagine that a territory of somewhat this extent might easily be found from some one parish, for the chapels that are now to be raised in Greenock, Aberdeen, and Dundee; and there is no doubt, that when placed in the state of separation and self-dependence that we have now suggested, each would soon clear away from its own district the weight of its present pauperism.

But, at this rate, there would be small relief to such an unwieldy parish as the West Kirk of Edinburgh; and it were well, that in the first instance, there should be a much larger allocation of territory for each of its two new chapels. It is true that three thousand people are quite enough for any one of them to do with ecclesiastically. But if, in the mean time, districts of six thousand were assigned to each, the right number would be, at length arrived at, by the subdividing that might be made to take place, in the event of future erections. In the mean time, six thousand will not be too many to be charged on each chapel, in as far as it regards the management of their new pauperism. It will be recollected that the new pauperism of the whole of St. John's parish has been met and rightly provided for, these three years nearly, on the small offerings of the evening congregation alone; and, that in that parish there are upwards of eight thousand inhabitants. It were a most important relief to the Charity Workhouse of the West Kirk parish, could it be relieved, in all time coming, through the medium of the two chapels now to be raised, of new cases, from a population of twelve thousand. That there will be a sufficiency of means with the chapels for the fulfilment of this object, we would not have had the smallest doubt, even though the territorial principle had been acted upon in seat-letting, and each place of worship had been filled from their respective vicinities with plebeian congregations. But as a preference to residenters, is not one of the rules of their constitution, (though we trust that it may soon be adopted as the invariable rule of their practice) the presumption is, that each chapel may have wealthy sitters from all parts of the city. In this case, so far from having any fears of their ability to undertake the new pauperism of 12,000 people, our only fear should be, that they may be tempted, at the outset, to a profuse and careless administration, by the overplus of their collections—so as to make it advisable that they should further be charged with a certain amount of their old pauperism.

The two great benefits to be aimed at by the erection of a new church, or a new chapel, are, first the Christian good that may be rendered to the families of its assigned territory, by the ministrations of the gospel; and secondly, their economic good, by the deliverance of the whole space they occupy from the evils of a compulsory pauperism. It is the more effectually to secure the first of these benefits, that we contend for the territorial rule of seat-letting, even though that should expose us to a wholly plebeian congregation. And we do not fear, that in our eagerness to accomplish this object, we put to hazard the second benefit, by the humbler collections of the humbler auditory, for whose primary accommodation it is, that the place of worship has been opened. This very fearlessness marks how it is that we expect the problem of pauperism to be resolved—and that our confidence of success does not lie in the means, but in the management. Pauperism is at best an excrescence on the body politic; and it is best for all the members of that body, when there is but little aliment to uphold it.

One wholly engrossed with the cure of pauperism, and who further thought that it was by large collections only, that the assessment could be superseded, would never plead so zealously as we have done, for that rule of seat-letting even in suburb and plebeian parishes, which went to exclude the wealthy, by the preference that it rendered to the poor. But we, in the first place, do not confide the success of our endeavours against pauperism to the magnitude of the collection at all—and, in the second place, so far from being engrossed with this as the main object of philanthropy, we hold the conversion of one soul to be of more worth, than the merely temporal good that would accrue to a whole empire, by its deliverance from pauperism. It is true, that were the poorest district of a city once reclaimed to congregational habits; its humble sabbath offerings, at the door of that chapel which had been raised for its special and primary behoof, would do more for the pauperism of its now humanized families, than could the ten-fold offerings of a rich auditory, occupying the same cha-

pel, and so leaving its excluded neighbourhood in all the grossness and depravity of their unmitigated heathenism. Yet it is not because of this secular good, that we thus plead for a more abundant supply of the ministrations of sacredness. It may be fair to urge it, as forming with many the most effective argument for calling out their influence and their means, in behalf of a cause that has higher bearings than ever they have contemplated, and that yields a fruit of mightier endurance than any which they ever yet have been led to care for. The extinction of pauperism is but one of those collateral blessings that would flow from the Christianity of the people—one of those many felicities which it profusely scatters along its path, wherewith to beautify and enrich even the society of this world—and after all, but the humble episode of a process far more magnificent. And we repeat, that it is not any happier adjustment among the fleeting interests of this life, which forms the strength of the argument for chapels being multiplied, and cities being more broken down into parishes. This, indeed, is a measure worth all the policy that can be expended on it—yet, not because of any economic good that society is to reap from a right treatment of our population, but because of their eternity that has to be won, and because of their spirits that are imperishable.

There is a delusion that attaches to much of moral and much of political speculation. The purpose of both is to ameliorate the condition of humanity, and to rear the permanent and substantial fabric of a better society than that which now encompasses our globe. It is, indeed, a soothing perspective for the eye of the philanthropist to dwell upon, when he looks onward to fancied scenes of bliss and perfection in the ages that are to come—and while he pictures to himself as the fruit of his enlightened labours in the philosophy of public affairs, that there shall then be love in every heart, and plenty in every habitation, it is scarcely to be wondered at, that he should kindle in the thought of all this goodly munificence, as if it bore upon it somewhat of the worth and greatness of immortality. But

apart from religion—and how poor is the amount of all that the mere cosmopolite can do for our species! And even though, without its aid, he should be able to perfect the temporal economy of nations, never can he perpetuate beyond a few flying years, to a single individual of this vast assemblage, any portion of the bliss or the glory that he thinks to have provided for them. It is death which brings down the worth and computation of his high-blown enterprise, that though established over the whole earth, and weathering the lapse of many centuries, can only gild in brighter and more beauteous characters than before, the fantastic day of each ephemeral generation. It is the gospel of Jesus Christ through which life and immortality are brought to light—it is this alone that can furnish the friend of humanity with solid and enduring materials—and never can he stand on a vantage ground where the mockeries of the grave do not reach him, till labouring and devising for the Christianity of his fellows, he helps to extend an interest that shall survive the wreck of every death-bed; and which, instead of being swept into annihilation, will be ushered to everlasting day, by that trumpet, at whose sound, our world, with all the pomp and all the promise of its many institutions, shall utterly pass away.

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° STATEMENT

IN REGARD TO THE

PAUPERISM OF GLASGOW,

FROM THE

EXPERIENCE

OF THE

LAST EIGHT YEARS.

BY

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GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR CHALMERS AND COLLINS;

WAUGH AND INNES, EDINBURGH;

R. M. TINS, DUBLIN;

AND G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER, LONDON.

1823.

PREFACE.


THIS Pamphlet was brought to its present state some weeks ago, when its further progress was arrested by a pretty severe illness. This will explain the abruptness of its termination.

I meant to have subjoined some additional recommendations of the parochial system in large towns; more especially from its bearings both on the economic well-being, and on the Christian education of the working classes. But my attention is now called, for a time, by other duties, from the whole of this interesting argument.

It may very naturally be asked, why I should publish a work ere I have extended it so far as I originally designed. To this question several replies may be made. First, there was a pretty general imagination that I had relinquished my charge in Glasgow, because of the misgiving of my schemes for the extinction of pauperism, whilst, in fact, throughout the various stages of this operation, we have felt all along the most overflowing prosperity. Secondly, a no less general imagination is, that though the plan may have succeeded with us, it will fail in the hands of another, and is

not imitable in other parishes. It is of importance to the cause of truth that this error also should be rectified. And, lastly, though I had no other reason for the step, it were enough that I made these few sheets the vehicle of the communications which I have so recently obtained from my Deacons, on the state and management of their respective districts—and of which I honestly think that they are more fitted to impress a right conviction on the subject of pauperism than all that I have ever written. These precious memorials will be found in a lengthened Note towards the end of the Pamphlet.

I have only to add, that there are certain numerical affirmations connected with the general statistics of the city, which were submitted to Mr. Cleland on their way to the press.



STATEMENT

IN REGARD TO THE

PAUPERISM OF GLASGOW.

THE population of St. John's, though not the greatest, is above the average population of the Parishes in Glasgow. By a survey made between the Whitsundays of 1818 and 1819, under my own superintendence, its whole number of inhabitants was 10,304. Part of it was afterwards transferred to the newly formed Parish of St. James', which reduced its population to 8,294. At the beginning of 1820, about a year after my own survey, there was another made, under the authority of the Magistrates, for the whole city, and by which it appears that the population had increased to 8,366. This tallies with my own observation of the new buildings that had been built, and additional families that have come into the parish. It is, therefore, the more remarkable, that, by the Government Census in 1821, the population should have fallen back to 7,965. And certain it is, that, by the emigrations of the inter-

vening period, which was a period of great distress in Glasgow, many of the tenements were left empty. There was a general diminution of inhabitants from this cause over the whole of Glasgow; the population of the ten city parishes having in 1820 been 73,796, and in 1821, only 72,765. Still, under all these fluctuations, the population of St. John's maintained its superiority over the average of the other parishes. It has besides, a very great extent of unoccupied ground, on which there have lately been many new erections, both of public works and of dwelling places—so that its population increases rapidly.

But, while the population of this parish is above the average of Glasgow, its wealth is very greatly beneath the average. With the exception of about twenty families, it may be regarded as altogether a plebeian district; and more especially abounding in that class of operatives who are most affected by the reverses and difficulties to which every manufacturing place is liable. And beside the weavers, there is a very large body of labourers, whose employment fluctuates with the season, and who are often forced to suspend work for many days at a time. It is difficult to institute a precise comparison as to wealth between this and any other of the poorer parishes in Glasgow. But there are two criteria that must afford a tolerably near approximation to the truth.

The first is the number of household servants

in each parish relative to its whole population. From the valuable works of Mr. Cleland* it appears, that the proportion of servants is least in St. John's, being only 1 to 33 $\frac{870}{1000}$ of the popula-

* We would strongly recommend to Mr. Cleland, that, in any of his future surveys of Glasgow, he should present distinct parochial lists of all the other occupations, as well as of the household servants. He has indeed furnished us with a general table of the occupations for the whole city. But it were interesting to know what the accurate proportions are, in which those of the operative ranks are distributed in each particular parish—when, we are satisfied, that it will be found that the natural poverty of a district and its artificial pauperism bear no relation to each other.

It gives us pleasure to find that the labours of this most industrious and devoted statist are now recognised by those who are best qualified to appreciate their importance. In the last publication of a Government census, we meet with the following well-merited testimony to the worth and importance of his works—the more flattering, in that it is far the fullest acknowledgment which has been bestowed upon any returns from any part of the empire. “It would be unjust not to mention in this place, that Mr. Cleland has transmitted printed documents containing very numerous and very useful statistical details concerning the city and suburbs of Glasgow; and that the example has produced imitation in some other of the principal towns in Scotland, though not to the same extent of minute investigation by which Mr. Cleland's labours are distinguished.”

It gives us still more pleasure to find that these valuable digests are on the eve of being translated into French—and that some of the most eminent disciples of political science on the Continent have expressed the high sense which they have of their importance—as furnishing indeed the only solid materials on which the true philosophy of economics can be reared. Mr. Say, well known as an economist in this country, and over all Europe, witnesses of one of Mr. Cleland's publications, “that the multitude of documents which it contains, and the minute details with which they are accompanied, is truly astonishing—that by such exertions as those of Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Cleland, Scotland is now the country of the world that is best known, and will serve as a model of all others in regard to statistics—and that he will certainly make use of the precious documents which the work of the latter gentleman furnishes.”

tion. In some of the parishes, it is so great as 1 to 6 $\frac{7}{10}$ % of the population. The next lowest in the scale is Blackfriars. St. John's, however, is absolutely the lowest. And I am informed by Mr. Cleland, that he includes shop-boys and others who run the errands or wait on the retail of that little merchandise, which is carried on to a very great extent among the ground-stories of the Gallowgate. This reduces the household servants to a still smaller number; and, indeed, there are very few of our families that have one.

The second criterion is very properly not accessible to public observation. Nor could I have obtained access to it, had it not been known that my single object was to determine the relative wealth of St. John's parish, *taken in the gross*, to that of the other parishes of Glasgow. This can be very satisfactorily done by an examination of the assessment books. In Glasgow the inhabitants are assessed for the support of the poor, not according to the valued rent of their houses, but according to their estimated property—and by a somewhat laborious process, the items of any parish can be extracted from the general mass, and when added together, give the whole amount that is charged upon that parish. I extracted the sums only, and have lost all remembrance of the names to which they were annexed. The result was most gratifying. The whole assessment for the poor of Glasgow last year was £9,213 4s. 6d.

and of this sum the parish of St. John's contributed about £140, or about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the whole. This second criterion points to about the same conclusion with the first—for as this parish contains within it, relatively, the least number of household servants, so it pays both absolutely and relatively the least to the assessment.

It was of this poorest, then, of our city parishes, that I felt the confidence of being at length able to meet and to manage its pauperism, without drawing any supply from the fund raised by assessment. I did not know, at the commencement of our undertaking, that it was the poorest. But I was at least sure, that it fell greatly beneath the average of all the parishes in wealth—and that its pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should have cost more than a tenth of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the rate of expenditure for some years, upwards of £1400 annually. For the achievement of this object, all that I required was the free command and use of the weekly collection received at my church door, amounting at that time to £400 a year. And with this sum I could have undertaken any other of the Glasgow parishes, and been just as confident of a favourable result as I was with the parish of St. John's.

The process has been so often explained, that, at present, I shall give a very brief description of it. I undertook, from the outset, the expense of

all my then sessional poor, amounting to £225 a year; but as my yearly collection was £400, I withdrew by this arrangement £175 from the general support of the poor in Glasgow. The only return which I could then venture to hold out for this sacrifice, was, that I should send no new poor, either casual or permanent, to the Town Hospital, whence the fund by assessment was distributed among all the poor of the city. It is evident, that under this arrangement, that institution would, by the operation of death, be gradually lightened of the pauperism that they had received in former years from that district of the city which now formed the parish of St. John's, and would be at length relieved from it altogether.

The attentive reader will at once perceive, that the success of this undertaking all hinges on the management of the new cases—or on the way in which the new applicants for parochial relief were met by the dispensers of the parochial charity. The old pauperism, then on the Town Hospital, behoved to die away. Even the then existing pauperism of £225 a year, that was upheld by the collection, must ultimately, and at no great distance of time, disappear—and the essential question, that could only be determined by experience, was, by what amount of new pauperism will the old be replaced?

By a very numerous class, this was held to be a

visionary scheme; and visionary, on the ground that no collection could possibly stand out against the demands of the poor, in a populous, and, at the same time, plebeian city parish. We believe, that of those who opposed it most keenly, and who anticipated its failure most sanguinely, no one ever dreamed of a failure from any other cause than a deficiency in our pecuniary means. It was never once imagined, that we should be embarrassed by an excess; or, that instead of having to give in, because of a short-coming which had to be made good, as in other parishes, from the fund by assessment, we should have to look about in quest of a safe and right absorbent, for our yearly surplus.

Another class, not so numerous as the former, thought that our success was possible; but possible only on the strength of a collection which, even at the outset, was unusually great, and of which they perhaps thought, that from the liberality of a large and an attached congregation, it could be augmented indefinitely. The one class deemed it a chimerical enterprise in any hands. The other class held it possible by us, but not imitable by others. It is hoped, that a plain statement of the fact may help to clear away both of these wrong imaginations, which were very prevalent at the outset of our undertaking, and which, even yet, are very far from being dissipated.

I had two congregations, a day and an evening

one; the first of these wealthy, the second poor. So long as the evening service lasted, which it did from September, 1819, to June, 1823, there did not one farthing of the day collection go to the support of new cases. This day collection, the only one chargeable with a magnitude that distanced all imitation, was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor, whom we found already on the roll, at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained, after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of parish schools. All the new applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection; and with a sum not exceeding £80 a-year, have we been able to provide for all the newly admitted pauperism, both casual and regular.

It is true, that in the winter of 1819-20, extraordinary measures were resorted to, for alleviating the distresses of that period. In particular, there was a subscription for the city at large, and a public distribution of soup, by the Town Hospital, for all the other parishes of Glasgow but St. John's. Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the wisdom, or the efficacy of these measures, it was obviously expedient, that our parish should stand on the same level, in respect of this apparent advantage, with the other parishes. A visible difference, in this matter, was certainly

not desirable at the outset of our undertaking; and, in the then violent and distempered state of the public feeling, would not have been safe. Our people therefore shared in the subscription; and we had also our miniature kitchen, with its distributions of soup, among those poor of the parochial families who required it. I felt it grievous thus to subject any of my people to the humiliating exposure of such an application: so, that instead of being mortified, I was greatly comforted and restored, by the almost universal contempt in which this said kitchen was held by them. Their conduct, on that occasion, was an admirable comment on the memorable saying of one of my female parishioners, who is now in her grave—a saying worthy of the land that gave her birth, and which I should like to circulate, and be impressed on all our population. An allowance from a public charity was offered to her, and her reply was, “that she would not have the name of it, for all the worth of it.”

The kitchen cost us twenty pounds and sixpence, and all our other expenses connected with that distressing period, did not exceed a hundred pounds.

As to our regular and ordinary proceedings, it should be remarked, that in one particular, the expenditure of our parish must vary in the style of it, from that of the other Glasgow parishes, which are connected with the Town Hospital. It is upon this institution mainly, that are laid the in-

cidental or occasional expenses, which are incurred by those who pass in England under the denomination of casual poor. We, of course, have to meet the demands of these, as well as of the new applicants whom it is necessary to admit upon the roll, as the subjects of a regular allowance. But the expense arising from this quarter has, of late, been rapidly diminishing. It was greatest at first, partly from the hardships of the times, and partly too, perhaps, from inexperience in the treatment of those applications which went to be managed by the Town Hospital. From the account submitted to me by the Treasurer of our evening fund, it appears that the whole sum charged upon him, from September 30th, 1822, to August 1st, 1823, being a period of ten months, for occasional expenses, was £14 3s.

But the most interesting question relates to the number of those who have been admitted upon our fund, as regular or permanent paupers. The following is an account of them, during the period, from October 1st, 1819, to July 1st, 1823, being a period of three years and nine months.

The number of paupers who have been admitted on the ground of general indigence is thirteen. Their monthly expense is £2 13s. 4d. and their yearly is £32.

The number admitted on the ground of extraordinary and hopeless disease is two; one of them being a Lunatic, and the other Deaf and Dumb.

Their monthly expense is £1 4s. 8d. and their yearly, £14 16s.

The number admitted on the ground of that necessity which springs from crime is five; there having been two illegitimate children, and three families of runaway husbands admitted upon the fund. Their monthly expense is £1 12s. 6d. and their yearly is £19 10s.

The whole number of regular paupers who have been admitted on the parochial funds of St. John's, for three years and nine months, is twenty, at a monthly expense of £5 10s. 6d. and a yearly expense of £66 6s. during which period there has not one been sent to the Town Hospital, or made chargeable, in any way, on the fund by assessment.*

We have separated the paupers into classes, for we think that the question, whether any legal provision for indigence is required by the natural state and necessities of any population, should be decided by the first of these classes alone, and not by any, or both of the succeeding ones. We think, that institutions for Disease might be supported to the uttermost extent of the demand for them; and even though legalized and upheld by assess-

* It is right to mention here, that our sick have occasional attendance and medicine, from the District Surgeons, belonging to the Town Hospital. The town is divided into four departments, and a Surgeon attached to each of them. The parish of St. John's forms part of two of these departments.

ment, as the county Asylums for Lunacy in England, we can see none of the indefinite mischief and corruption in such a practice, that there undoubtedly is in our present generalized pauperism. We further hold, in regard to the third class, that there ought to be no public or ordained aliment, tending directly to the multiplication of crimes; and so, the question with us, whether there should be such an economy as that of our existing pauperism, resolves itself into the question, whether, apart from the disease, which ought to be provided for, and from the immorality, which ought not to be provided for, there be really any thing in the circumstances of society that necessarily creates such an amount of indigence, as to require any other securities for its relief, than the unforced sympathies of our nature.

Our own previous convictions upon this subject have been strengthened into a full and settled assurance, by the experience which we have now recorded. That, in a plebeian and manufacturing city parish, with upwards of 8000 inhabitants, there should have been admitted only twenty paupers of all classes, in the space of three years and nine months; and still more, that of the first class, or the class of general indigence, the number admitted should only be thirteen, and the yearly expense of them £32, is to us an abundantly decisive proof of a legal or compulsory provision, in any circumstances, being wholly uncalled for.

There have two deaths occurred among these newly admitted cases. They are now beginning to decline at the one end, while they are slowly augmenting at the other; and we have the confidence, that by persevering in our present management, their number will not be sensibly greater than it is now. Meanwhile, the original pauperism is dying rapidly away; and with a right and careful administration, we certainly are not very far from our maximum of new cases. But even though that maximum should at length be double of our present number, still there would be the exhibition of a parish, with the extent of population that we have now specified, and having the whole of its regular pauperism upheld for an expenditure of little more than a hundred pounds in the year.

But without waiting for such a result, and even while a very large remainder of the old pauperism, that was the fruit of the former system, is still upon us, and not yet cleared away, yet with this disadvantage, the exhibition of our present state is sufficiently impressive of the truth, that there is really no inherent or essential necessity for a compulsory poor-rate. It will be recollected, that our undertaking commenced on the 1st of October, 1819, and that, at that time, there was a sessional pauperism already formed of £225 a-year, which we took upon the fund raised by our day collection. The number of sessional poor was then 117, of whom, about a year afterwards, nineteen were

transferred to St. James', at the formation of that parish. The original number then, of sessional poor belonging to our parish, as it now stands, may be taken at ninety-eight, of whom, by March, 1823; twenty-eight had died, and thirteen had been displaced from the roll, in consequence of a scrutiny. This brought down our number of old poor to fifty-seven, to which, if the twenty that have been taken on are added, the number of sessional paupers, on the whole, has fallen from ninety-eight to seventy-seven.

This result hath much exceeded our first anticipations. It would have been more than enough, if we had kept our list of poor from increasing, excluded as we now were, from the old privilege of relieving ourselves to any extent, by sending both new applicants, and paupers already on our list, to the Town Hospital. The door of that institution was now shut against us; and we had, with our collection alone, to meet every case that offered itself from the population. In these circumstances, we did lay our account with an increase both in the number and expense of our poor; and the surplus of £175 a-year, kept in our hands by the new arrangement, was for the express purpose of meeting this increase. It turned out, therefore, a most agreeable result, when we found that this surplus was not called for. The more that our hopes were overpassed, the more have our principles been strengthened.

In consequence of the complex system from which we had to be extricated, the diagram of our operations is itself a little complicated; and they who have only the power or the patience to look at one part of it, have been heard to say, Where lies the mighty achievement of reducing the parochial poor from ninety-eight to seventy-seven? But this is not the achievement. Though there had been no reduction at all, though our present number had still been ninety-eight, and there was no prospect of bringing it any lower, there would still remain that peculiarity which is the only one that we deem to be of any importance. We have, during the whole period of these doings, sent no new cases to the Town Hospital. We now draw nothing from the fund by assessment, and maintain the whole poor of the most plebeian parish in the city, not by means of a great collection, but by means of such a fraction of it as would constitute a very ordinary collection, and as might easily be realized in any of the parishes. Were they, in like manner, to strike off from the Town Hospital, each, with such a number of sessional poor as it was fully able for at the outset, the valuable service which they could render to the public, would not lie in reducing their own lists of pauperism—it would lie simply in their transmitting no case to the fund by assessment. Even though the whole sessional pauperism of Glasgow were, under such an arrangement, to remain sta-

tionary, there is still a most obvious answer to the question about the good that should be done by it. For, under such an arrangement, the Hospital would, in a few years, die a natural death—the fund by assessment would be relieved of all its charges; and a Scottish pauperism, in the pure and original style of it, would wholly supersede that hurtful economy, which hath entailed the greatest of all its domestic evils on the people of England.

The whole yearly expense of our original sessional poor, and newly admitted cases, is about £190.

But our actual expense varies from this by the operation of two causes. The first is, that the poor of all the parishes in Glasgow are still interchangeable. They have no law of residence for their mutual protection from each other's paupers. And, accordingly, the prediction of our adversaries was, that if we succeeded at all, it would be by the efflux of our half-starved and half-provided poor into the other parishes. But it has turned out quite differently. At the beginning of March, 1823, fifteen of our poor had been removed to other parishes, and twenty-nine of their poor had been received by us from other parishes—so that, our imports exceeded our exports, at that term, by fourteen, whose expense, at the average of 40s. a-year, comes to £28 over and above the natural cost of our parochial system of management.

It is not this expense, however, which forms our heaviest loss, from the balance being so much against us. A greater and more permanent burden comes upon us from the different ages at which our poor go out to other parishes, and at which we admit their poor in return. Only one of our newly formed cases has left us—so that, all the rest who have taken leave, had at least a seniority upon them as far back as September, 1819. Whereas, our imported poor came to us in all the possible degrees of seniority as paupers. The fifteen who have gone, had, averagely speaking, a shorter period to remain in the world, than the twenty-nine who have come in their places. This, while it lasts, will always expose us to a much slower process of relief, than we would otherwise have had by the operation of death. The truth is, that a law of residence protecting every parish of Glasgow from all the rest, would have restricted our expenditure to our own original and newly formed poor—the former of whom must soon, in the course of nature, have waxed old, and disappeared—and the latter, at our exceeding slow rate of admission, must always constitute a very small and manageable family.

But though we complain of this unfavourable balance, as a very heavy disadvantage to our system, yet we are almost glad to suffer it, because of the triumphant refutation which it holds out to an attempted calumny against us, that we are

harsh to the poor—a refutation the more decisive, that it is a practical one, and that it is given by the poor themselves. Besides, though this excess of imports has turned out a burden upon our system, such is the inherent vigour and efficacy of the system itself, that we can stand our ground against it.

A second cause which has affected our expenditure, and made it, like the former, exceed still more the natural cost of the system, is, that we have gone beyond our original offer to the Town Hospital. By our first arrangement, all the poor that had been already admitted from the ground of St. John's parish, upon the funds of that institution, were to have remained upon it till death; and it was only in this way that we could venture to promise a total relief to the assessment from all charges on the account of our poor. We felt that it would have been adventuring too much at the first, to have offered a present relief to the Town Hospital; and we could, therefore, only at the time, hold out the prospect of an eventual relief. But we found the prosperity of our new system to go so far beyond our anticipations, that upwards of a year ago, we extended our original offer, and requested the Town Hospital to make out a list of all the cases that were actually upon their fund, and which they could trace to have been admitted by them from that territorial district of the city which forms the present parish of

St. John's. It appeared, from their communications, that in September 1819, the whole number of such who could be ascertained, amounted to forty-nine. In March 1823, they had subsided, by the operation of death, to thirty-four, most of whom are now in extreme old age; and from whose expense, therefore, there is the prospect of being speedily relieved. Even their present cost is moderate and manageable, being only about £90 a-year.

By assembling together, then, these three distinct items of our disbursement, we attain the sum total of our present and actual expenditure.

The Town Hospital poor cost us	£90	0	0
The original sessional poor of 1819; inclusive of the imports,.....	152	0	0
And the new poor of three years and a-half from the commence- ment, during which time we have wholly intercepted the flow of pauperism into the Town Hos- pital, from more than one tenth of the poorest population in the city,.....	66	0	0
	<hr/>		
Making a total yearly expense of	£308	0	0

The actual expense, then, is very manageable, even after the total relief of the assessment has

been accomplished, after that we have ceased to draw from the compulsory fund for any part of our pauperism, whether it be original or newly formed. And, when we join to this consideration the prospect that lies before us, the slow rate at which the new pauperism may be admitted, and the fast rate at which, in the course of nature, the old will certainly disappear, we cannot doubt, that with a simple perseverance in the wonted style of management, we have reached our conclusive emancipation from compulsory pauperism.

We hold ourselves now prepared for the question, whether the process which we have attempted to narrate as clearly and explicitly as we can, be really imitable in other parishes?

The two distinct considerations that enter into this question, are the means and the management; the means by which the expenditure is defrayed, and the management by which that expenditure may be kept down to a state of moderation, that is altogether indefinite.

As to the means for meeting the expenditure, it should be observed, that we have exhibited our own expenditure in its three distinct branches—and that, partly for the purpose of demonstrating with what facility the parochial system may be introduced, and be prosperously carried forward, even in our parishes of most slender means and most indigent population.

Our whole regular and annual expenditure,

then, it has been seen, amounts to £308, the first part of which, or about £90 a-year, is incurred by the charge of those remaining poor who were upon the funds of the Town Hospital, at the commencement of our undertaking. Now, no other parish is called upon to charge itself with this expense at all. It was an expense that did not enter into any original plan of ours, and so far, therefore, from being held to operate against the parochial system, is truly, in our case, the fruit of its very great and unexpected prosperity. Into the question of imitability by other parishes, it can, with no propriety, be at all admitted. There is no reason why they should hold out any present relief to the Town Hospital. They do enough, if they send no new cases, and thus afford a sure eventual relief, which will, at length, by the operation of death, become complete and conclusive.

As to the second item, it will be observed that, in our case, it is greater by £28 a-year, than it naturally ought to be from the excess of our imported pauperism. Now, in any argument about the power of imitation by other parishes, this also ought to be deducted. For so soon as it comes to be a question about all the parishes, this expense cannot light on any one of them but by the relief of some of the others. If it operate in one quarter against the system, it will just operate as much in favour of the system somewhere else.

And besides, should the plan be adopted generally, this could be provided for by a general arrangement or understanding, whereby each might be as effectually protected from the pauperism of all the rest, as by the law of parochial settlement in Scotland. This law might even be obtained for the parishes of Glasgow.

But, lastly, we are quite sensible, that in several of the parishes a still greater degree of indulgence would be necessary, ere they could be put into the condition of working back their way to a Scottish economy of pauperism. The parish of St. John's obtained a very fair outset by the simple arrangement of being left to its own collection, which, at the time, was £400 a-year, and to its own sessional poor, whose expense, at the time was £225 a-year. The surplus of £175 was then deemed necessary for the contingencies of a yet untried speculation; and it is well, that for the encouragement of similar attempts in other places, the point has not only been carried, but greatly over-carried. Nevertheless, for some such attempts in Glasgow, another arrangement is indispensable. The truth is, that in a good many of the parishes, the collection, instead of exceeding the cost of their sessional poor, falls greatly short of it. Still, however, this does not cause, even in their instance, the experiment to be impossible—it only makes it necessary, that with them there should be a different sort of initial adjustment

from that which was granted to us. For ought we know, the expense of the sessional poor in some other parish, may be towards £400 a-year, while their collection may not much exceed £100 a-year. That such a parish might start fair, we would not object to the whole of its sessional poor being devolved on the fund by assessment, even as a great part of them is already so devolved. After this was done, the Kirk-Session of that parish would be in fair circumstances for the trial. It would at the outset have no poor at all—and though it had little more than a hundred a-year of collection, yet, restricted as its expenditure would then be to its new cases only, it would, with our most simple and practicable management, weather for years the coming applications. It would have to do with nought but our third branch of expenditure, that in three years and a-half has only attained to £66 a-year. And during this period, there has disappeared between one-third and one-half of our old pauperism, that is now going off at a rate of extinction which accelerates every month, and that, in a little time longer, must vanish altogether. As to the old pauperism, there should be the same proportional rate of extinction in all the parishes—and as to the expense of the new cases, it ought not to be greater in any of the parishes. Nay, it could, and it ought to be made less. Had it not been for the pauperism that springs direct from immorality, and which

ought to be abolished, our yearly expense for new cases would only have been £47 a-year. And had it not been for the pauperism that springs from the disease which ought to be provided for by the philanthropic institutions of our land, this expense would have been farther reduced to £32 a-year. And when with means so slender, a compulsory pauperism can be wholly superseded, if there be spirit and patriotism in our land, shall that labour of management be withheld, which might avert the footsteps of this baleful visitant from our borders?

This brings us to the second great consideration which enters into the question, whether the process be imitable in other parishes. In as far as the means are concerned, it appears to be abundantly imitable. And it now only remains to unfold the perfect facility of the management.

This second topic we have all along held to be the most triumphant part of our case, though it be the very point on which we have met with the most obstinate incredulity from others, who repeatedly ask, what the mighty and marvellous secret of this management is, or wherein doth the incomprehensible charm of its efficacy lie? Not we are sure in the harsh and repulsive style of it. There have been outcries and exaggerations to our prejudice—and where was there ever an administration of public charity that gave satisfaction to all? But in spite of this, the system is

popular. We find it so to our cost. We long for a law of residence, that might protect us from the ingress which the poor have made upon us from the other parishes of Glasgow. The exchange is against us, and this we insist upon as a decisive refutation to the calumny, that the poor are either neglected or maltreated by us.

The whole mystery and power of our management, are resolvable into this. Most of us are convinced, that public charity is a very great evil. Most of us believe it to be a good thing, that we are limited to a small yearly sum for carrying on its distributions, and that we have no temptation to laxity or profuseness in the open access which we before had to the fund by assessment. Most of us think, that we do a service to the population, by dispensing, as carefully as possible, the small revenue wherewith we are intrusted; and these considerations all told with greater practical force upon the deacons who had the treatment of the new applicants committed to them, that they were restricted to the very humble collection made up chiefly of halfpennies from the parochial congregation. I do not hesitate to say, that my reason for vesting in the deacons the charge of the small evening collection *alone* was, that I felt as if their free access to the large day collection would have insensibly brought on the same relaxation in their management, which access to the Town Hospital did in the management of our el-

ders under the former system. I thought that the work would be the better done, the smaller the provision was that I assigned for the doing of it—for I never once conceived that the success of it depended on the magnitude of our provision, but solely on the truth and efficacy of our principles. These principles the majority of my deacons have in common with myself; and they, accordingly thought, that in warding off the parochial charity, as much as in them lay, from the families under their care, they were warding off from them a very great mischief. And their system of treatment has not, generally speaking, been a system of neglect, but a system of firm and patient, yet withal, kind investigation—the object of which has been, not to facilitate the access of applicants to the parochial charity, but, if possible, to divert it—not to help them on, but rather to help them off—and for this purpose, to try every previous expedient of relief, and to make that humiliating expedient of a supply from the poor's fund, the very last which ought to be resorted to. In the prosecution of this truly benevolent work, many doubtless have been thrown back upon their own resources; some have drawn more largely than they otherwise would have done, from the kindness of relatives and neighbours; and a few more have had the benefit of certain easy services, and, perhaps, liberalities, from the affluent, that they might not else have experienced. But the

success, upon the whole, has been marvellous, and far beyond even my own sanguine anticipations; most delightful to my feelings certainly; and, at the same time, most demonstrative to my understanding, that the dispensations of an artificial pauperism are wholly uncalled for.

But it is not enough to evince the success of this management. A most important point is left untold, if we keep back its perfect facility to the gentlemen concerned in it. On this subject I hold myself exceedingly fortunate in being able to present their own written testimonies. I would urge the perusal of the subjoined note on the middling and higher classes of Glasgow—and I shall indeed rejoice, if it be at all instrumental in opening their eyes to the truth, and, at length, convincing them by how very small a sacrifice of time and labour, they might render a most important service to that community of which they are the members.*

* About two months ago, the following circular was sent round among the Deacons of St. John's:—

Glasgow, August, 11th, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

You will oblige me much by your earliest possible reply to the following Queries:

1. Of what Proportion is it in St. John's Parish that you are Deacon?
2. What is its population, as nearly as you can infer, from your latest survey?
3. How many Paupers belong to it that are upon the Deacon's Fund?
4. How many applications may you have for Parochial Relief, monthly or quarterly, as near as you can remember?

This is the *rationale* of the process. A deacon when first appointed to his district, may find it.

5. What time may the business of attending to these applications, and the necessary inquiries that you had to make in consequence of them, have cost you upon the whole?

6. Are the applications more or less frequent since you entered upon your office?

7. Could you state how much time you are required to sacrifice, per week, or per month, in making the requisite investigations that you are actually called to?

8. Do you think, that a man in ordinary business would find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as yours, so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience?

9. Will you have the goodness to state any circumstances connected with your management, that you think might elucidate the nature of the duties or attentions that you have had to discharge?

I am, Dear Sir,

Your's most gratefully,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

To this we subjoin the following large extracts from their replies, and make no apology to the reader for presenting him with a set of testimonies given by men, whose office and opportunities stamp a purely experimental character on all that proceeds from them.

1. "The latest survey was taken about a month ago, and from it I observe, that this proportion contains 335 inhabitants."

"There is not at present a single pauper in this proportion upon the Deacon's Fund; nor has there occurred either an occasional or permanent case, requiring assistance from this fund, since I received the charge of it in the month of May, 1822."

"The number of applications for relief in this proportion has been very few during the last twelve months, not amounting, to the best of my recollection, to more than seven, or about an average, one every two months."

"Upon a review of these cases, I compute that I may have bestowed upon them about sixteen hours in whole, or about a quarter per week, at the utmost."

"All those applications for relief to which I have alluded, occurred

very troublesome at the first, and perhaps alarmingly so. There is among a part of the people a

during the first six months after accepting office ; which leaves nine months during which I have not had a single application for parish relief."

" Before I could be prevailed upon to take charge of this proportion, I imagined that, in consequence of my professional avocations, it would be quite impossible for me to accomplish such an object ; but I was very much astonished to find, after a few months trial, how simple a matter it ~~was~~, and how easily managed ; indeed so light and pleasant did the duty seem, that I thought, if all the other proportions were equally manageable, I could take upon me to manage the whole parish, and attend to my business besides."

" I am of opinion that the first thing necessary to the proper discharge of the office which I hold, is to get immediately acquainted with every *house and family* in the proportion ; in order to check any imposition which may otherwise be practised, and also to facilitate the investigation of every case which may occur."

" Of those cases which I have above alluded to, *three* were of *runaway husbands*. The first was left with two children, both under three years of age, the youngest at the breast. The second case was left with *four daughters*, under ten years of age, and the youngest at the breast. The third was left about three years before she applied to me, with two children under ten years of age, and an adopted child, for the support of which she had nothing, the father and mother having died some time before."

" All these cases appear at first sight formidable, and seemingly fit for the exercise of unbounded charity, both public and private ; but with the exception of the second case, (which by the bye, was one of a very interesting nature) none of them received, nor did they require the hand of ill-timed charity to assist them. It would occupy too much of your valuable time, however, to enter upon the particulars of any of the cases, or explain how *they were treated* ; but let it suffice to add, that had liberal means been afforded in those cases to supply their apparent wants, their husbands would never have been found out, and they and their children would have been at this moment in more abject poverty than at their first application."

" I am sorry that I should have taken up so much of your time in reading over this long answer to your important queries ; but I thought it incumbent on me to say so much, in defence of a system, the advantages resulting from which, both to the moral and religious character of a people, I have had now so ample an opportunity of judging."

very natural expectation from him, and urgency upon him at the outset of his ministrations—and

The testimony here respecting the runaway husbands, is peculiarly important, and marks the close connection that obtains between the abolition of pauperism, and the virtue of families.

2. "Population 320."

"No paupers on the Deacon's Fund."

"The applications, including those for temporary aid, will scarcely amount to one in four months."

"About two hours in three months, required for the whole business of attending to the various applications."

"The applications are less frequent now than when I entered upon my office; the first two years being years of peculiar distress."

"I do not think, that the task of managing the pauperism of my district, would put a man, in ordinary business, to any sensible inconvenience."

"To the right and efficient discharge of my office as deacon, I deem it necessary to be well acquainted with all the families of my proportion, that I may be enabled to distinguish betwixt those who deserve parochial aid, and those who do not, and with this knowledge I am enabled to mingle my sympathies with the industrious and well deserving, and to offer the check of my disapproval to any thing improper. The advice and assistance of friendship, in cases of family trial or difficulty, I have known to have been well received, and sometimes of great importance to poor families."

The district to which the above testimony relates, is one that contains many poor families, including, as it does, the east side of Saracen's Lane.

3. "Population 466."

"Not one pauper at present."

"Have one application every five months nearly, and have had none for six months and a half past."

"If the question as to the time necessary for doing the work of a deacon, refer merely to the time required to investigate the cases, I would say an hour in five months; but if to attendance at the Examination of Schools, making up of list of population, attendance at the church for the evening collection, going to the several houses about the church seats, &c. then the time must be very considerably greater; probably, from the calculation made in a general way from memory, about one hour and a quarter per month.

it is in the power of a very few to keep him in considerable perplexity and occupation for some

There would be no sensible inconvenience incurred by any man from being a deacon, if his duties are solely confined to the pauperism."

"Although I have acted as a deacon for about twenty-seven months, yet the cases have been so very few, that my experience has been very limited, and consequently I am not able, I think, to suggest any thing which is likely to be useful. I may, however, just remark, that I think the two most requisite qualities in a deacon are, *kindness* and *firmness*—*kindness*, that the people may be perfectly persuaded he is endeavouring to do every thing for their good—*firmness*, that he may be able to resist pathetic but ill grounded applications for relief. If he also possess some knowledge of the habits and character of the poor, he will be more likely to be able to be of service to them, and will run less risk of being imposed upon."

This last testimony, besides its general importance, is very valuable, in that it adverts to the distinction between the duties which attach to the management of the pauperism, and other duties which have been accidentally attached to the office of deacon in the parish of St. John's. How it should dissipate all the exaggerating fancies that obtain upon this subject, when it appears, that in their fullest enumeration, they do not require in the above instance, more than an hour and a quarter per month.

4. "My district contains, according to a late survey, ninety-six families, and a population of 448."

"The only case I have on the Deacon's Fund, is that of a foundling child, which was exposed in the district, nearly three years ago, then not above a few weeks old."

"I can only state having had one other application for relief, namely, from an old man and his wife, who had not completed their residence in the city."

"I am safe in stating the time taken up in visiting and attending to the foundling child, at not more than one hour in the three months. The other case may have occupied, in disposing of it, from one to two hours altogether."

"In a district such as mine, certainly a person in ordinary business could not find himself put to inconvenience in regard to the time taken up with the actual cases that may occur; and were his attentions undivided by other philanthropic objects, he might find abundance of leisure for entering on

time. But let him meet with strict investigation one and all of the applications that are made, and

the various direct and indirect modes of checking the growth of pauperism."

"In this district, there are only about forty families, who may be ranked among the working classes, and with these I have had almost no trouble. My experience, therefore, does not carry me so far as to give the result of any particular system of treating applications for parochial assistance. The case mentioned of the old man and his wife, was disposed of by giving them half-a-crown, and calling upon the session of their former parish, by letter, in future to attend to the application."

"In order to maintain or produce a right feeling in a district, I conceive it necessary, that the deacon should make himself acquainted with all its families, endeavouring especially to obtain an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of those who seem likely to become applicants; and having arrived at this knowledge, he has reached the most advantageous ground for his subsequent operations. Does he meet with a genuine case of distress? he may invite the sympathy and private charity of the neighbourhood towards it, and thereby provide for the sufferers in a far more ample manner than by a parish contribution. A case in my district, of a poor woman long under a lingering illness, and which terminated in her death, might be adduced to show how much even of comfort sometimes arises out of private charity: This person was unable, for a considerable time, to maintain herself by her own earnings, and yet no desire was manifested for parish aid; the neighbours, and those who had heard of her situation, came forward in her behalf, so that she appeared to stand in need of nothing that was necessary."

"But should the idle or worthless threaten to become clamorous, the deacon will be peculiarly benefited by his previous acquaintance with their dispositions and habits, and he may, even by some little act of kindness or temporary relief, be the means of stirring up exertions which will produce much more than the parish could allow—a little forbearance, and a few trifling marks of attention, have a wonderful effect in calming down the most insolent, and of changing their tone by degrees into an opposite strain. You may recollect, when I visited the district along with you, to give intimation of an address in the church, we met from one man the most repulsive reception: afterwards, by way of experiment, I several times visited the family, got the length of being tolerably well received,

this at last will act upon them by a preventive influence—and they simply cease to apply. If it

and lately having, by accident, met the man, (for he has been some months out of the district) he stopped and spoke most cordially; said he was 'now doing fine,' and that his children were at school."

"Besides these, which may be termed the ordinary means of checking pauperism, there are others which operate powerfully in an indirect way; such as, endeavouring to persuade the people to take advantage of the Savings Bank; circulating among them religious and philanthropic intelligence; having occasional meetings with them for reading such sort of intelligence, where the higher and lower classes of the same neighbourhood, in a manner come in contact with one another, as well as with the district agency."

"I am indeed sorry to say, that owing to various reasons, this district of your parish has been little cultivated agreeably to the above principles, and for this I ought to apologize. I felt loath to resign altogether my situation in your excellent court of deacons; otherwise I should have confined my attentions to another quarter of the city, which abounds with profligacy and ignorance—the district where my Sabbath School is planted."

5. "In reply to your queries, I beg to state, that I have charge of the poor of a proportion in St. John's parish, whose population amounts to 314, according to a very recent survey."

"There is only one regular pauper, an orphan boy, and two who get occasional assistance."

"I should imagine the applications for even occasional aid, do not exceed one monthly."

"I have spent a good deal of time in the proportion, but think an hour every week would be sufficient to investigate into the state of the poor."

"Applications for relief are less frequent, because work has latterly been much more abundant."

"From what I know of the mode of conducting business in Glasgow, I think any man might, without sensible inconvenience, if he have the inclination, attend to the pauperism of such a proportion as mine, provided his dwelling house be not very remote from the proportion of which he has charge."

"It appears to me, if a deacon simply confine his charge of a district to

be his object to guide them as much as he may to their own resources, all who are conscious of

granting an allowance to those who have a legal claim to relief, his labour will be very small indeed; but if he take an interest in procuring work for those who find a difficulty in getting it—if he endeavour to get the parents to send their children to school—if he give occasional assistance to those who require it from sickness—he will find a good deal of employment, and require to exercise some discretion not to do harm where he wishes to confer a benefit.”

“The most unpleasant thing to be met with, as far as I have seen, are people who profess to be religious, but who, either from want of principle or industry, become a burden, either as direct paupers, or, what is worse, borrowers of money, which they can never repay.”

“P.S. You are aware the population of this proportion consists of very poor people; there is only one family above the rank of operatives.”

The district to which the above testimony relates is about the poorest in Glasgow. I offer the following very important notice in regard to this district, from a former deacon who had the charge of it, but was obliged to quit it upon leaving town:—“Though foreign to our subject, I may state that I have received £2 2s. out of the proportion, to assist an outfit of emigrants to Quebec; and £5 or £6 from among the very poorest of them for Bible and Missionary Societies. These sums tend to prove that any of our proportions might be supported from its own resources.”

6. “In answer to your queries of 11th August, I have to state that the population, as nearly as I can infer from the present year’s survey, is 394 persons.”

“No paupers at present.”

“There are three or four applications per quarter. Few of these applications come before the Court of Deacons, in consequence of my providing work for those who are able.”

“The time necessary is so trifling as is not worthy of being noticed. Not twenty hours per annum.”

“The applications considerably less than at first; say one to four or five.”

“In reply to your 8th query, I have to say, none whatever.”

“The duties are simple, few in number, and easily overtaken. Good

such resources will shun the detection and the disgrace attending an unworthy application. At

will and affectionate interest in the affairs of the poor, with minute and persevering inquiry in every case, to prevent imposition, will enable the deacon almost to eradicate pauperism from his district."

The above district I may state, as being a very noticeable feature in Glasgow, includes the whole of Barrack Street.

7. "This proportion consists of 69 families, or 275 adults and children."

"There are no paupers receiving permanent aid."

"The applications for parochial relief quarterly, may average about two."

"The time required in attending to the applications, &c. may have occupied about an hour and a half quarterly."

"The applications are less frequent since I entered upon office."

"I think that a man, in ordinary business, could, without any sensible inconvenience to himself, meet the task of attending to the pauperism of such a district as mine."

"There are no circumstances which I consider peculiar in the management of my proportion, or worthy of notice in this statement."

8. "I beg to submit to you the under-noted answers to your queries of the 11th instant, in so far as I have had experience.

"I have charge of a proportion, the population of which, according to last survey, is 324."

"At present there is no pauper on the fund from this proportion."

"During last year I have had two cases on the fund, and one application for relief. One of the two is now dead, the other has removed to another proportion of the parish; and the application for relief was a labourer, for whom work was procured."

"In consequence of the small number of applications, the time required for inquiry has been very trifling."

"The applications are less frequent."

"I consider a person would sustain no sensible inconvenience, from attending to the inquiry necessary for investigating the applications from this proportion."

9. "I beg leave to subjoin my answers to your queries of the 11th August.

"I am deacon of a proportion of St. John's parish, where there are 102 families, 467 persons."

the same time, his own sentiment as to the evil and the disgrace of public charity, insensibly

"I have one pauper only."

"I have had not exceeding one application quarterly, on an average of the last two years; and spent perhaps an hour on each application. The applications are much less frequent than at the outset."

"It would, most certainly, not in the smallest degree be inconvenient for a man in business to fulfil the duties of a Deacon. When no less than three proportions were under my charge, and the applications numerous in proportion to what they are now, then they might have been inconvenient to a man much engrossed in business, but I could not even then give the necessary duties the appellation of laborious."

"I cannot offer any thing to elucidate the nature of the duties attached to the office of Deacon, they are of so simple a nature; I may, however, say, that my practical experience has proved, to my entire satisfaction, that by strict investigation of the applicant's situation, and the treating of the case according to its circumstances, is all that is wanting to diminish the number of applications."

The important peculiarity of this testimony lies in the deposition that is given with regard to the necessary time and trouble that are supposed to attend the investigations of our pauperism. For want of agents, there was a very large department of the parish given to the gentleman who has favoured me with the last communication, and which has since been divided into three districts or proportions, one of which he now retains—and it is to this that the preceding narration refers. At the time that he had the management of all the three districts, Glasgow was in circumstances of extraordinary and unprecedented distress. Yet even then, he affirms, "that he could not give the necessary duties the appellation of laborious." I must say, that I have often felt a very great degree of comfort in this experience, for it has proved how invulnerable the system is in this respect, that it could stand the desertion of a great part of its agency. It cannot, with this view, be too much impressed on the deacons, that though one or more should find it necessary to relinquish their duties, yet, without any sensible addition to their burdens, the proportion that has been thus resigned might for a time be undertaken till a successor is found. And we know of nothing that is better fitted to overcome the antipathies or the scruples of those who are applied to for this object, than the host of testimonies which we are enabled, by the deacons themselves, to give in behalf of the perfect facility wherewith all the necessary duties can be discharged.

spreads itself among the population; and the more surely, if there be perfect frankness in his inter-

10. "I am deacon of a proportion where, by the last survey, the population consists of sixty families, and 285 individuals."

"There are no paupers at present upon the deacons' fund."

"I have been deacon for two years, and, during that period, have had only three applications."

"As I live close to the proportion of which I am deacon, I have ready access to information respecting it: I may state half an hour each time to have been devoted to make the necessary inquiries."

"The whole business of the office of deacon does not occupy me above an hour and a half in the month."

"I am of opinion, that however closely engaged in business a person may be, the duties attending the office of deacon can put him to no sensible inconvenience."

"The business of deacon being merely to investigate the applications for relief, to ascertain that the applicants are proper objects for it, and to make the payments, when they are admitted on the roll, it must be obvious that the duties are so simple and so easily performed, that I am able to state little in elucidation of them. I may state, however, with respect to my proportion, that except eight or nine families in middling circumstances, the proportion consists of poor people."

It deserves to be remarked here, that though the people are poor, and the deacon is at hand, yet that his vicinity does not expose him to any weight, or overwhelming urgency of applications. This holds true also of the case of No. 9. proving, that for the right management of pauperism, it is not at all necessary to flee the applications, but resolutely, and, we may add, withal, kindly and humanely to canvass them.

11. "In compliance with your request, I send you the following answers to the Queries contained in your circular of 11th August."

"I am deacon of a proportion whose population, from last survey, is 284."

"There are no paupers, on either the deacon's fund, or on the session, within the proportion."

"N. B. I think it proper to add, that though this is the case, the proportion is one of the poorest in all St. John's parish, only three families of the population being above the rank of labourers or journeymen mechanics."

course, and perfect friendship in his regards towards them. It is thus, that in ordinary times, he

“The only time I have been called upon to spend in the more immediate duties of a deacon, was that in which I was engaged, in consequence of a family, the parents of which were put into Bridewell for swindling. They left two children, and the arrangements, in getting the children provided for during the parents’ confinement, and in getting the parents again to take charge of the children, after their liberation, might occupy me, upon the whole, perhaps two days. I have had no other applications.”

“The time I have devoted to the general duties of my office has certainly not been such as to be any serious inconvenience to any person, as it has been principally occupied in getting acquainted with the people, and could, therefore, be made to suit my own convenience.”

“From my experience in this proportion, and also, in that part of the Saltmarket over which I have acted as Sabbath School Teacher, I am of opinion, that the great point for a deacon to attend to, in warding off pauperism, is in his giving a ready attention to the real wants and distresses of the people—in procuring them work when in want of it—in furnishing medical aid in trouble—and in showing the utmost readiness to aid and alleviate any unavoidable evils, such as insanity, dumbness, blindness, &c. and, at the same time, in giving the most decided opposition to all claims that are the effect, or visible produce of vice, idleness, intemperance, or improvidence.”

The deacon who has favoured me with the above deposition is also a local Sabbath School Teacher, in a part of the city now out of my parish; the district which belongs to him, in this latter capacity, comprising two closes in the Saltmarket. I have great value for the assurance, that he has often made to me verbally, that he is persuaded how, within the limits of this little territory, there is enough both of ability and good-will to provide for all the indigence that is to be found; though it really belongs to one of the most indigent quarters in the whole city.

12. “In reply to your Queries, I beg leave to make the following statements.”

“The proportion which I visit, as deacon in St. John’s parish, is one whose population, per census of last year, 1822, was above 430 souls.”

“There are, at present, five regular paupers on the deacons’ fund in my

may conduct them, in a very few weeks, to a habit of most mild and manageable quiescence—a

proportion; one of these came into it, about two months ago, from another proportion."

"I have never kept an account of the number of applications for relief from the funds of St. John's parish, of those who are inadmissible on account of want of right, but may safely state the number to be at least two in each month."

"This proportion being in the immediate vicinity of my house, one hour and a half is about the average time, per month, for making the necessary inquiries relative to the situation of these applicants."

"In the year 1821 the number of paupers who received relief might average as $2\frac{1}{2}$ permanently. In the year 1822, the average was about three. At present the number is five, besides a fresh application, at present under consideration by the court of deacons."

"From the proportion being in my immediate neighbourhood, I find it no hardship to attend to the necessary business of this district, because I can make the time convenient for myself. Were it at a distance, on account of the many engagements which I necessarily have, in the management of a tolerably extensive concern, I should probably have to drop the charge of the district."

13. "Population 350."

"Two paupers."

"During last year I may have had irregular applications for aid, at the average of one every three months."

"From half an hour to an hour each application."

"When compared with the first year, 1820, that I had charge of this district, the applications are greatly reduced; indeed more than one half."

"Each investigation may occupy from half an hour to an hour; but the time spent generally in making inquiry into the different cases, may not have been more than an hour, at an average, every three months."

"I consider that a man, in ordinary business, would not find it a difficult task in meeting the pauperism of this district; nor would the attention it requires, put him to any sensible inconvenience."

"In the outset of my taking charge of this proportion, January, 1820, I was very doubtful of the success of the present system; at least, I had great fears that it would require much more attention, as well as expense, to

habit from which, if they are not disturbed by new methods of administration, by changes of system,

to meet the different cases, than I was led to understand would be necessary. The stagnation of trade, at that time, was very great, and work difficult to be procured; and it certainly required some additional trouble and attention, for the first while at least, to meet all the applicants who then sought temporary aid. Those, however, that were out of employment when work was obtained, showed a willingness to apply to it, rather than take relief from the parish."

"The first thing I adopted was, to take a list of the population of the whole district, each family by itself; stating the number of individuals, profession, and probable earnings, and, in addition, noted whatever remarks that occurred of the apparent circumstances of the family. This I renewed annually, and from these statements, when applications are made, I have recourse to this check upon the applicants themselves, and which, with an immediate inquiry into the case, from the testimony of the neighbours, and any other information otherwise that may be obtained, I judge of the situation of any particular individual or family."

"I am convinced, that the immediate readiness of the deacons, at all times, to procure employment for such as may find any difficulty, serves as a check against the lazy and indolent, from applying for aid; and the strict scrutiny adopted in all cases, of whatever nature, operates as a preventative, in many instances, against individuals, or their friends for them, from begging relief from the parish funds."

"The experience of nearly four years of the charge of the poorest proportion of the parish, has fully convinced me of the entire practicability of the system now adopted for the management of the poor of St. John's: and I have just to repeat, that I am certain that I should find it no task whatever to meet the pauperism of double the number contained in this district; nor would the attention that might be required, put me to any sensible inconvenience whatever."

14. "I beg to note below, replies to queries contained in your card of the 11th. I am deacon of a proportion whose population is 417, from the last survey."

"No paupers belong to it that are upon the deacons' fund."

"I do not remember having had more than one application these three months."

and reports of great things to be done, and great things intended for them, they will persevere in for ever.

“The time required in attending to the business of these applications, and making the necessary inquiries, is about an hour each.”

“The applications are less frequent since I entered upon my office.”

“In making the requisite investigations that I am actually called to, I do not require to sacrifice more than an hour and a-half quarterly.”

“A man, in ordinary business, would not find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as I have so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience.”

15. “In answer to the queries addressed to me as one of the deacons of St. John’s parish, I beg to state, that I have the charge of a proportion whose population, by the last survey, was 240.”

“There are no paupers in it on the Deacons’ Fund.”

“For the last two years, I think I can confidently say, that in whole I have not had above six applications for parochial aid. I suppose the average, since October, 1819, may be taken at six annually.”

“So far as I can recollect, it has cost me, on an average, about two hours monthly.”

“At first I had a great many calls upon me, but for the last two years they have diminished greatly.”

“I would consider an hour and a half monthly as sufficient to make all the requisite inquiries into cases that are now likely to apply.”

“To speak from experience, I would say, that no man, unless overburdened with business, would find himself put to any inconvenience by taking charge of such a district as mine.”

“With regard to the general management of the district, I have nothing particular to state; I may, however, mention, that since October, 1819, it has cost the fund fully £16, about £13 of which was expended in the first two years of my connection with the parish. This sum was mostly given to needy families who had no legal claim upon us, and arose from the depressed state of our mercantile affairs. The amount paid to cases who had a legal claim upon us, in nearly three years, is about £6 10s.”

“I have the firmest belief that the same system which has so successfully been carried on in St. John’s parish, may be extended to all the other

The following statement I hold to be peculiarly important, as evincing the comparative rates of in-

parishes in Glasgow; and although at the outset they will have difficulties to surmount, yet a similar result may be expected, and not only fewer paupers will be found, but fewer idlers, and more comfort among the families. I hope the fabric you have raised will be perpetuated, for the sake of the happiness of the working classes of this city."

16. "The following are my replies:—That I belong to a proportion of St. John's parish whose population, so near as I can infer from my latest survey, is 506."

"That there is one pauper (Irish) belonging to it upon the Deacons' Fund."

"That the applications for parochial relief have been equal to one every six months."

"That the time the business of attending to the applications, and making the necessary inquiries in consequence of them, has, from the nature of the cases, been quite trifling—about one hour for each."

"That the applications were considerably more numerous during the first year I entered upon the office than they have been since."

"That the task of meeting the pauperism of such a proportion would not put a man in ordinary business to any sensible inconvenience."

"I think the population of my district are particularly desirous of receiving frequent visits; and that it would be very important to have the agency belonging to it so situated as to enable them to gratify their desire in this respect."

17. "I am deacon of a proportion containing 447 persons by this year's survey."

"Only one regular pauper."

"For the last year I think they will not average more than one application per month, and some of them had no claim upon St. John's funds; others were repeated by the same persons, for I have never had more than one regular pauper since the beginning of the parish."

"Not more than one hour per month."

"The applications are much less frequent, and have been very few indeed for the last year."

"In peculiar and urgent cases, a temporary inconvenience may be felt by

flux, under the present and former systems of pauperism. The parish of St. John's was formed

a deacon; but in the general I do not hesitate to reply, that the task is by no means laborious, and to a man in ordinary business may be performed with little or no inconvenience."

"At the commencement of St. John's parish, I resided in the immediate neighbourhood of my proportion, the population of which then was from 1100 to 1200 persons. Among a number of them I found a keen appetite for parochial aid, and an impression that it was to be more easily acquired by the new arrangements in St. John's parish. By the making of a survey of the whole proportion, my living almost among them, and frequent conversation with them, I not only acquired a tolerable knowledge of the characters and dispositions of the people, but I think removed, in some degree the notions they had conceived; for during the months I had the charge of from 11 to 1200, not one regular pauper was taken on."

"I was relieved of about one half of this number about the beginning of winter, which set in along with a great commercial stagnation, which cast many out of employment for a time, and lowered the wages of all the weavers (of which class my district was chiefly composed); I did all I could in the way of procuring work for the unemployed, and was getting on tolerably well, till a general public subscription was made, and soup kitchens erected. This again (like the commencement of the parish) excited a certain class in my district to have at the subscription, and a deputation waited upon me for this purpose. I reasoned the matter with them, and the consequence was, that not more than one person residing in the district received aid from it, and that aid very trifling; and although I had a large parcel of tickets for obtaining soup, I never needed to distribute more than one or two of them, if so many. And from the circumstance of my living so near my district, and being often among them, there scarcely could be one extra case of distress out of my knowledge."

"In all my experience, as regards pauperism, I have had very very few applications from the regularly sober and industrious, but most of them by those of a very opposite character. To the first class a little attention and kindness will make the case easily managed; but with the latter class, it requires caution in taking in their reports, till a proper investigation is made, and a firmness in acting agreeable to the circumstances; and although the case may appear urgent and distressing at first view, a temporary aid often gets them through. Upon the whole, I am convinced that a parti-

out of parts taken from three parishes; one part from the Tron church parish, of which I myself

cular knowledge of the characters and dispositions of the individuals of a proportion, and acting with kindness and attention to the sober and industrious poor, and with civility and firmness to those of the opposite character, is all that is necessary to reduce pauperism."

The author of this very important testimony had, at the outset of our proceedings, the charge of Nos. 15, 16, and 17, from our want of agents. There is a peculiar worth in his experience regarding the effect of the general subscription. The truth is, that we had proceeded in our operations for a few months, and every thing went on most prosperously and smoothly till this great and ostensible effort was made for the whole of Glasgow. It induced a very natural restlessness among our own population—and then it was that we all felt the commencement of our difficulties. It may be thought invidious to signalize any one of my friends, when I feel so much my obligations to all. But I may at least be permitted to say of the gentleman connected with the very large and populous department, on the border of which his house was situated, that throughout the whole dreary season of Glasgow's greatest commercial distress, he had certainly, of all his coadjutors, the greatest pressure to sustain.

18. "In reply to the queries contained in your circular, I have to state, that my proportion in St. John's parish contains a population, by the last survey of June, 1823, of 300."

"There is only one case of pauperism connected with the proportion at present—it is of three years and a half standing."

"I have had only four regular cases altogether. The whole population of my district are operatives, or labourers, many of them Irish. In November 1819, when I was appointed deacon, the greater part of them were in absolute starvation from want of work. I had consequently many applications for about five months, which were greatly increased by the distribution at Hutcheson's Hospital. During that period, I supplied with various relief about one-third of the families under my charge, not one of which would have been called forth in ordinary times."

"As I was an entire stranger to the duties of my office, as well as the people committed to my charge, it required a great sacrifice of my time at first, often three or four hours in a day; but that pressure has long passed away, and I now reap the benefit of it in a pretty thorough knowledge of almost every family in the district."

was minister for nearly four years, previous to my becoming minister of St. John's—another from the

"I have brought no case under investigation for ten months. I had indeed two applications within that time, but after a little conversation, they both voluntarily withdrew."

"Taking the survey, may occupy three or four hours per annum. The deacons' meetings and investigations connected therewith, two to three hours a month, but I have had no call on my time from the pauperism of my own district, for many months, except signing a few papers exempting from the Cottage Tax."

"With a little experience, I see nothing to prevent a person in ordinary business, to manage such a district as mine without inconvenience."

"I consider it most important for a deacon to be intimately acquainted with every family under his charge, and there is no way he can acquire that knowledge so well, as by frequent visitation; besides the very frequency of his visits gives him a stronger interest in their *well-doing*, not to mention the reciprocal feeling it creates towards himself, while he is furnished with a store of useful information for every emergency."

"I have not been able to persevere in visiting regularly, but it is not from the fear that my presence would increase the applications for parish aid. I think, were we required to give our pastor monthly a written report, it might be of great benefit to ourselves. It ought to be a deacon's aim to behave with as much kindness as possible, to listen patiently to every application, do his utmost to procure work when it was wanted, and, what is perhaps more difficult, to resist, with sturdy firmness, every improper claim, in spite of abuse, or popular clamour."

I have here to express my acknowledgments for the information that I have received from such monthly reports of their districts, as the gentlemen connected with them were pleased to furnish, and, more particularly, to the author of the last communication. The truth is, that this practice languished, but from what cause?—purely from the want of materials. The people when conducted to a natural state, at length, offer nothing to call forth the observation of those, whose ostensible office it is to manage the affairs of their pauperism. "They sheathe the sword for lack of argument." Their attentions are finally superseded—a circumstance which might, at length, attach an insipidity, and even an unimportance to their office, but which, in itself, affords the strongest verification of the truth of our principles.

Outer Kirk parish—and a third, but very small part, from the Inner High. The number admitted

19. "In reply to yours of the 11th, I subjoin answers to the Queries you put."

"My proportion has in it 282 persons, and only one pauper on the Deacons' Fund."

"The applications are one quarterly; not more."

"The time requisite for investigation is one hour in a quarter."

"The rate of application is much the same; perhaps less frequent."

"There is not the least inconvenience to a man of business, in his being a deacon. If he could spare even as much as ten or fifteen minutes in a week, it would fully suffice for my proportion, judging by the past."

"The nature of the duties of a deacon, so far as I have had experience, appears to be, simply to procure work for those who cannot get employment, and investigating the rights to relief of those who are in destitute circumstances."

"The answers to the above queries do not include the time taken up in attending the monthly meetings of the court; neither the time employed in taking the annual survey. The latter can easily be accomplished in an afternoon."

20. "Agreeably to your request, I beg leave to send the following answers to your Queries."

"I am deacon of a proportion, whose population, in June, when I took my last survey, amounted to 427."

"There are no paupers on the Deacons' Fund, in my proportion, except an exposed child, which was lately laid down at the door of a house in my proportion."

"I have had no applications for parochial relief, but I have occasionally had applications from poor people, to assist them in procuring work; and even under any incidental distress, or any occasional deficiency of work, any trifling or temporary aid has rarely been solicited."

"As the applications which have been made to me were generally for work, and never for parochial relief, I did not consider it necessary to occupy any portion of my time in making inquiries into their circumstances, so that, calling on, or writing a note to an acquaintance to procure them work, was all the service they generally required."

"The applications have latterly been less frequent."

on the sessional rolls from these three parts, that form the whole present ground of St. John's parish,

"As I have not had occasion to make any investigation, I have not been called to make any sacrifice of time farther than I have already stated."

"I have, as yet, found no inconvenience from attending to the poor in my proportion; and I am of opinion, that no one in ordinary business would find the management of pauperism, in such a proportion, any sensible inconvenience."

"Although I am known to all the people in my proportion, having, besides partial visitations, twice visited every family residing in it, yet as I have been so little required to attend to the necessities of the poor, I have acquired little experience which I can offer for the information of others; and the only information I can give is, that I have experimentally found, I had almost nothing to do; and this want of business renders me almost unable to state any circumstances, connected with my management, which can elucidate the nature of the duties or attentions which a deacon has to discharge to his people."

"The only pauperism which exists in my proportion connected with the Deacons' Fund, is an exposed child, and on this I may state, from my own little experience, which accords with what I have frequently heard from those who have had longer experience, that the greatest portion of pauperism originates in immorality, exposed children, husbands who desert their wives and families, or idle and profligate parents, who prosecute no regular employment for the maintenance of their families, and who form the most frequent, and the most difficult cases of distress."

The gentleman connected with the above district underrates very much the worth of his own testimony, if he hold it to be unimportant from the paucity of his facts and informations. This very paucity is, in itself, most valuable to be known; and I am not aware of a more precious experience than that which has been so abundantly furnished by himself and others, even that, in some of our most plebeian districts, there has been little or nothing to do.

21. "In answer to yours of the 11th instant, I beg leave to state, that I am deacon of a proportion in St. John's parish which contains 100 families, consisting of 412 individuals, all of the working class, and most of them weavers."

"There is only one pauper upon the Deacons' Fund in it, who receives

between the months of October, 1815, and April, 1819, being a period of three years and a half,

2s. 6d. per month, and is most thankful for it. He is betwixt sixty and seventy years of age—a Roman Catholic."

"The number of applications for relief I may have in a month or a quarter, I am quite at a loss to state; but taking the average of the last three years, I think they cannot exceed one in a quarter."

"I cannot, with any certainty, state the time these applications may have taken to attend to them, but should suppose, that an hour of inquiry to each would be the extent of it."

"The applications are much less frequent since I became acquainted in the district."

"I am most decidedly of opinion, that the superintendence of a district, such as the one I am appointed to, can be no inconvenience to any man, in any business."

"I have always, when I had it in my power, given work to the poor in place of aliment, with which, in general, they were well pleased. I have, in two instances, where a husband left his wife and family, refused them any aid, and the consequence was, that the husband, in the one instance, came back to his family; and in the other, that the family found out the husband. Had the court of deacons interfered in this case, and given support to the family, apparently destitute of a husband and father, we should never have seen or heard any thing of the husband; but the refusal of all aid from the court of deacons, was the only cause, I am fully persuaded, of bringing the family together."

I do entreat the best attention of my readers to the last part of this communication, and that they will compare it with a similar testimony in No. 1. The most burdened proportion of our parish arises from a case of lunacy, that ought most liberally to be provided for, and cases of runaway husbands, which I humbly apprehend ought not, in a public and ostensible way, to be provided for at all. I most assuredly would not say so, did I believe that the starvation of a deserted family was to be the consequence. This, in the first place, will never happen—while, in the second place, the withdrawal of the parochial guarantee would make such unnatural conduct far less frequent.

22. "In reply to the queries contained in your circular of the 11th ult. I beg to state, that I am deacon of a proportion of St. John's parish,

was at least 62—whereas the number admitted by ourselves from October, 1819, to April, 1823,

which contains a population of about 500. There are two who receive regular aliment from the Deacons' Fund. I have given no temporary aid during the last six months, and as far as I can remember, I have had no applications for any during the last twelve months. I have had about six applications altogether, one of which was for pecuniary aid, and the others for work. Since the commencement of our operations in St. John's parish, the time occupied by me in attending to, and investigating the applications, may be about 24 hours, two-thirds of which were spent during the first twelve months; in the course of the second year, the other eight hours were requisite, and latterly the business has become quite a sinecure, as far as labour is concerned. In attending to cases in my own district, and investigating along with other deacons, in this I may have spent about six hours in the last twelve months, and as I consider this about the average time necessary to the other deacons, it is my opinion, that a man in ordinary business would be put to no sensible inconvenience in attending to the pauperism of any of our districts."

"I have succeeded in procuring work for a number of them, who are very grateful for it, and one, who had applied for money, but for whom I got winding, remarked to me sometime thereafter, that I had done them a greater benefit than if I had granted their first request."

I have other three districts in my parish, one of which is exempted almost from the possibility of its having paupers: and the other two of which are at present without deacons, and have been placed under the temporary charge of those to whom they do not properly belong. I sincerely hope from the *exposé* which has now been given of the perfect facility, and, I may add, pleasure, attendant on the occupation, that they will not long remain vacant. The gentlemen will at length find, that the pauperism is a mere bagatelle—but still for the sake of that refining and tranquillizing effect which the mere friendly attentions of the upper classes have on the working classes of society, I should like to see a representative of our system in every proportion of the parish. He may so manage, as at length to have nought whatever to do with the distribution of public alms—but he may stimulate the cause of education—he may give direction to the habits of economy—he may do a thousand nameless offices of kindness—he may evince good will in a variety of ways—he may, even without any expenditure of money,

which is also a period of three years and a half, was only 20. But it must be further taken to account, that during the former period, there were not only 62 admitted upon sessional rolls, but a certain number of the more aggravated cases behaved to pass directly into the Town Hospital, without taking the intermediate road of the Kirk-Sessions at all. Of the twenty that we have admitted upon our roll, eight were of that aggravated description that never would have been encountered by the Kirk-Session under the old regimen, but would have been passed directly to the Town Hospital. There were only twelve, then, of these twenty that would have appeared on our list, had there been an open avenue to the Town Hospital, as there was during the whole period of the admission of these sixty-two. Or, in other words, the numbers 62 and 12 represent the proportion between the rates of admission under the old and

diffuse a moral atmosphere, that will soften and humanize even the most hard-favoured of his people. (See No. 4.) And as the fruit of those very light and simple attentions which are here recorded, he will, at length, feel that he has chalked out for himself a village in the heart of the city wilderness, whose inhabitants compose a very grateful and manageable family.

I only subjoin one word more to a record that might safely be left to its own impression on the heart and understanding of the reader. Will they who have charged us with theory, persist in the charge? Let them only specify then, what the experience is that would satisfy them. If they do the one, and are unable to do the other, then the controversy hath changed its character, and instead of a struggle with the incredulity of human reason, it becomes a mere struggle with the obstinacy of human wilfulness.

new systems, and the ingress of paupers is five times less than it wont to be.*

We have great pleasure in recording this fact, not only as it evinces most strikingly the effect of the parochial system, in stimulating the management, but as it serves to demonstrate the spirit wherewith we regard the management that obtains both in the Town Hospital and the other parishes of Glasgow. We are aware of a certain soreness of feeling on the part of some gentlemen connected with these managements—as if we had charged them with laxity and carelessness in the administration of a public trust—and we are sure that this impression, on their part, must have

* By the examination of sessional books, we ascertain how many are the cases which each elder admits for the first time upon his roll. These, however, consist not merely of those who are absolutely new paupers, but paupers who have entered his district, either from the other parishes, or even from other districts of the same parish. On the present ground of St. John's parish, the number of such enrolments, between October, 1815, and April, 1819, was considerably upwards of 90. By our allowance for the internal movements from one part of this ground to another, which is necessarily conjectural, we reduced the number to 90 precisely. If, in this allowance, there have been any inaccuracy in our favour, we are pretty confident that it is more than balanced by our further allowance for the imports from without, between October, 1815, and April, 1819. We make them equal to 28, which is the number of imported cases to the same ground between October, 1819, and April, 1823. Now, we have every reason to think, that the importation was stimulated both by the hopes and by the experience of the new system—and the fact that it was double of our exportation, we hold to be decisive on this point. When 28 is taken from 90, it leaves 62 for the number of new cases of pauperism on the present territory of St. John's, under the old regimen, in three years and a half.

strengthened that hostility wherewith the parochial system has had to grapple for every inch of its progress. With us, it was never felt to be any other than an abstract municipal question—and, when we affirmed that the affairs of pauperism were better conducted under a separate parochial administration of the voluntary fund, and worse conducted under the general city administration of a compulsory one—it did not once enter our thoughts, that we were either advancing a compliment in behalf of those individuals who were concerned in the former administration, or preferring a charge against the individuals concerned in the latter. Now that the discovery has been made, (and it was only made a few months ago,) that, under the old system, we ourselves* did admit pauperism at a rate five times greater than we do under the present system—it will not be imagined that we would have openly proclaimed this, had we thought that we were thereby exposing our own discredit to the world. The truth is, that when one finds an indefinite command of the means for public charity, he almost, insensibly to himself, is thrown off his guard, and becomes more easy and inadvertent than he otherwise would in the dispensation

* That part of the old Tron parish which remains attached to St. John's, forms about one-half of it—and I can see no sensible difference, in point of laxity or rigour, between the old administration of this portion, and that of the other two that were devolved upon us from other parishes.

of it. Even his good feelings, when not accompanied by reflection, will help to mislead him in this particular. And thus it is, that men of the utmost honour and humanity, all over England, as well as among ourselves, have been far less alert in their management than they should have been, with a limited revenue that constrained them to a limited expenditure. The whole question is altogether a public, and in no shape a personal one. We take no praise to ourselves for any of our doings under the present regimen—neither do we take any blame to ourselves for any of our misdoings under the former regimen. The comparison now given, says every thing for the one system and against the other system—but it says nothing for or against the administrators of either. The comparison we hold to be curious, and, at the same time, important, as exhibiting the powerful stimulus that a mere change in the economy of pauperism will give to its management. This in truth is the great secret of the whole operation. The deacon or elder takes much more trouble with each individual case than he did before—yet his trouble is greatly lessened upon the whole, because in consequence of his now stricter investigation, he has greatly fewer applicants than he had before. By the labour of a very few weeks he may purchase to himself the ease of a whole incumbency—and the delightful results, throughout all the parish, are a greatly reduced expenditure, a diminished and still rapidly diminishing pauperism, an agency that feel

their offices to be so many sinecures, and notwithstanding all the clamour and calumny of our opponents, a far more tranquil and satisfied population.

We are not making a palinode to the gentlemen of the Town Hospital, but merely uttering a reiteration, when we pronounce them the useful, and efficient, and highly respectable administrators of a system that is miserably wrong. We are sure that they are doing their work a great deal better than our deacons could do; and if, at this moment, the gentlemen of the agency of St. John's, our own particular friends, were to become the office-bearers of a compulsory pauperism, we should have no more faith in a good or prosperous result, from their services, than we have in a better state of things for England, till the people there have abandoned all their modifications of the evil, and have struck a blow at the root of the evil itself. We are not qualified to say, how the gentlemen of the Town Hospital, those praiseworthy and gratuitous servants of the public, could, while the system continues, do better than they are doing; nor are we able to offer any advice for the improving of a system, of which we think, as Charles Fox thought of the Slave Trade, that it ought not to be regulated, but destroyed. We feel confident, that were our elders and deacons to take the place of the directors in the Town Hospital, there would, in the long run, be no benefit rendered to the city; and, on the other hand, we are equally confident, that would any of the direc-

tors honour our parish by accepting of its offices, they would soon imbibe the spirit of our system, and very soon be satisfied of its power. A trial is better than an argument. We have often failed to convince the partizans of the old system by our reasonings; but we have succeeded, in more instances than one, by making deacons of them.

The utterance sounds harshly which implies, that the administrators of our city pauperism ought not to be intrusted with the disposal of that large and indefinite revenue which is raised by assessment. The correct mode of putting it is, that such a revenue ought not to be raised. We did not intrust the deacons of St. John's with the large day collection. We did not even intrust the elders of St. John's with it either; and we therefore provided an absorbent for its great and accumulating surplus.* But who ever dreamed of any thing so utterly puerile as a feeling of personal offence, because of a supposed personal charge? The truth is, that wherever there is a large disposable fund for the expenses of pauperism, a certain

* We have expended, altogether, £744 5s. 1d. of this surplus on the endowment of our Parish Schools; of this sum £500 was vested with the city corporation, for a permanent salary of £25 a-year, to the English School in M^rFarlane Street. The rest was expended on the current salaries of the four teachers. Our ordinary day collection, under the management of the elders, has varied between four and five hundred pounds in the year, or a little upwards; and the surplus now in the hands of the Kirk Session is £190. There has another of our schools been permanently endowed by a revenue derived from another source. The remaining two, attached to the chapel district, are still unendowed; but it is hoped, that this object will be attained from other sources than either the church or chapel collection.

relaxation will gently and imperceptibly insinuate itself into the management. It was to secure an alert administration at the outset, that the deacons were restricted to their very humble revenue. It was to maintain this alertness, that we felt anxious lest the capital of our session should attain to a hurtful excess. And we feel confident, that there is not a Kirk-Session of our city, which, if dissevered from the Town Hospital, and cordially resolved on the side of its own independence, could not, in virtue of the same alertness, meet its new pauperism, and with the utmost facility too, even upon its present resources, however scanty.

The first part of what follows relates to the separate management of St. John's, and is more especially addressed to the present and future conductors of that management. The second part relates to the means of its extinction, and is submitted, with much deference and regard, both to the city rulers, and to the clergy and elders of the other parishes.

I. And, first, there can be nought more complete than the demonstration which you have made of the efficacy of the parochial system in large towns. That you should, with so little trouble to yourselves, and, on the whole, with so much satisfaction to the parish, have only admitted twenty new cases upon the roll of pauperism, in three years and nine months; and that, during that period, the old pauperism should have melted so fast away, as to leave the whole expenditure for the poor of a plebeian

city population, of more than eight thousand souls, at £280 * a-year,—this, of itself, and in the midst of perilous and disastrous times, is a practical exhibition, which they who have designed the whole enterprise, as a rash and theoretical innovation, will find, we imagine, very difficult to dispose of.

To us the exhibition is made still more impressive, when we look at the state of the matter, according to the respective proportions or districts into which the parish is divided. Out of the twenty-five districts, there are twelve where there has not a single pauper been formed since September, 1819; and some of these among decidedly the poorest vicinities in Glasgow. In some of these too, I may be permitted to remark, that the gentlemen who have honoured me by their co-operation, are not in circumstances to intercept the applications for public and parochial aid by any private charities of their own. There may be such liberalities occasionally going amongst us; but most assuredly, these do not form our main protection. I have seldom indeed, applied for this object, to any of my wealthy friends in the congregation: I do not recollect a dozen instances in four years. If there has been any jugglery in our undertaking, let my friends, whom I now leave, and many of whom I have grieved by my departure, let them step forward, and unmask it

* The whole present annual expenditure is £308; but of this £28 is for the excess of our imports.

to the derision of the public. If there has been any conspiracy, for the purpose of deluding the imagination of the citizens into the belief of an erroneous, though favourite theory, let the conspirators, now that their chief hath abandoned them, reveal the secret. The mechanism now lies open to the public gaze; and if they can detect aught of legerdemain in its performance, they have now the ample opportunity. I found the delusion strengthening every year, that our success was due, not at all to the system, but to some marvellous or magical power in the operator who conducted it. The best service, in these circumstances, that can be rendered to the truth is, for the operator to resign it into other hands; and now that the enterprise has been delivered of that false and bewildering glare which his presence had thrown around it, he has not another wish regarding it, than simply, that its enemies shall forbear their violence, and that its friends shall not abandon it.

There is one circumstance worthy of being adverted to, and that must be quite palpable to you all. A very slight difference in the strictness of the administration, is quite sufficient of itself to create a difference in the amount of pauperism between one district and another. Let any one deacon but relax his management, however slightly, and he may by that, admit some pauperism which another would have shifted, or otherwise disposed of. Let a very few, then, abandon themselves to the habit of easy, unquestioning compliance with

any application; and he may very soon form more pauperism among a few hundreds of the population, than would have been formed, under a universally careful superintendence, in a parish of as many thousands. Every such deacon has a powerful auxiliary on the side of pauperism, in the sordid appetencies of our nature; and, therefore, it is, that a very few could overrun their districts with poor, and bring a session to the limit of its resources in a single twelvemonth. It is thus, that it would be the easiest thing in the world for a lukewarm or hostile successor to overthrow the experiment—but the intelligent reader will at once perceive, that its failure in his hands would prove nothing, while its success in the hands of another, and particularly under the circumstances that have just now been unfolded, proves both certainly and universally, that the supplies of an artificial pauperism, are not indispensable to the well-being of any population.

But, still, this shows the importance that you remain united in principle—and I trust, that under a successor, who will countenance your pure and philanthropic undertaking, you will never meet with any thing to damp or to dispirit you. You will, surely, not for the few hours of labour and attention that your office requires, lay it down; and that, too, at a time when your perseverance in the good work is of greater importance than ever to the cause of truth. So long as I presided over it, there was a delusion which no success

could dissipate, and which every month of my continuance, made more inveterate than before. It is unpleasant for me to allude so pointedly to myself; but there are occasions on which the delicacies of nature ought to be suspended. There were a bustle, and a din, and a publicity, attendant on my various proceedings, that threw a disguise over their real character and tendency. The success, in particular, of my scheme for the management of pauperism, has all along been most grievously misunderstood, and regarded more in the light of a Catterfelto exhibition, than as the result of those sure and steadfast principles, which operate at all times, and throughout the whole extent of our nature. Hitherto there are many who have only gaped at it with a sort of blind and stupid wonderment. They may now, perhaps, give themselves leisure to gaze upon it intelligently. You, my friends, know, that the virtue which has been ascribed to me in this matter, is an utter misconception—and that in any higgings which may have taken place between you and the parochial applicants, there was no mystical charm whatever in my name, or in my presence. Only, let me be succeeded by a friendly and an approving clergyman; and you are all confident, that it wholly depends upon yourselves, whether the same exhibition shall be perpetuated or not. I may have called you together; but you, gentlemen, have done the work; and your simply abiding therein for a few years longer, will be a mightier

service to the cause, than you have yet rendered to it by the whole amount of your labours. You entered upon the office in the face of many hazards and uncertainties. You will not surely abandon it now, that you have put the bugbear to flight, and have turned the office into a sinecure. It is for you, and for you only, to work that conviction which I have failed to awaken—to shed a calm and enduring light over that question on which the public are still so obstinately incredulous—to let them know, that what they have mistaken for a blazing meteor, is nought but every-day truth; and that what they have hitherto regarded as a sanguine experiment in the hands of a daring adventurer, might be turned, at any time, into solid experience, even by the most sedate and sober-minded of our citizens.

I can depone to the effect of both systems on the comfort of the clergyman, having just had four years experience of the one, and as many of the other. The deacons have already attested the perfect facility of their part in the concern, and I follow up their witness by attesting the equal facility of mine. It is just another delusion, that the plan makes it a laborious parish to any who shall succeed me. It was indeed a labour to combat the opposition that arose against the establishment of the plan—but in the operation of the plan itself, there is no labour. Instead of this; there is a thorough exemption to the clergyman, from the whole care of his parish pauperism—and

he is enabled to give the whole of his time to such literary and spiritual labours as are strictly ecclesiastical. All that the system brings upon him is one meeting with his deacons in the month; or, should the system be adopted without deacons, and by elders alone, the only effect of it is to make that regular meeting of his Session, which he must have at any rate, a far blander, and quieter, and more manageable meeting than it was before. It, in fact, assimilates his condition to that of a country clergyman; and he has all the tranquillity of a home walk, instead of that appalling complexity, and controversy, and manifold interruption, which seem to be inseparable from an extended management.

I must not disguise my conviction here, that apart from the support of education and of institutions for disease, public charity, in any form, is an evil—and that the Scottish method is only to be tolerated, because of its insignificance, and the rooted establishment which it hath gotten in all our parishes. But, though I would tolerate it in practice, I cannot defend it in principle—and I speak according to my firm and experimental impressions, when I say, that a parish might be maintained in far greater comfort, and in a more soundly economic condition, without it altogether. The blind, and the dumb, and the deranged, may, without mischief, be wholly provided for—and philanthropy would soon reach the limit of that exertion, which might be required for the full and permanent relief of all whom Nature had so sig-

nalized. And then, after these, we believe, that had it not been for the guarantees of a Kirk-Session, we should have had fewer, or no runaway husbands, perhaps even no exposed infants; and, certainly, been altogether saved from that awkward and pernicious necessity which is sometimes laid on the parochial court, when, by its very allowance for illegitimate children, it seemeth, at least, to accredit the grossest immorality. Take away these sources of pauperism, and our expenditure for the new cases would be reduced to £32 a-year—and I repeat, that in the absence of this dispensation, not one individual would have suffered, and many been far more liberally dealt with. We have one pauper that I recollect, who was admitted to a larger allowance than usual, on the ground of her eminent Christian worth—but this worth was previously recognized by all her acquaintances, and there was a consequent influx of kindness, which, I hope, has not been arrested by our interference. There was another who came upon our roll, because of her long continued sickness. We could not, and more especially as she had recently come amongst us, give her more liberal treatment than she would experience in the other parishes of Glasgow—and we are glad to learn, that the spontaneous generosity of one private individual in her neighbourhood, far outstript the more showy, but less substantial ministrations of the public body. The truth is, that the very knowledge of her state in the vicinity,

soon surrounded her dwelling with a wholesome operation of aid and sympathy. I never found it otherwise. I would have no fear of a parish any where in Scotland, though all claims, and all collections were done away. But I have great fear, of there being much untold and unrelieved suffering in every parish, where the public charity hath attained a magnitude that overbears the charity of nature—where it hath turned the one party into fierce and determined litigants, and put the other on a stout and stern defensive against their applications—where the imagination of a right, that most unseemly and heterogeneous element, which ought never to have been admitted into the business of human sympathy, hath set both gratitude and good-will at abeyance; we greatly fear, that in these circumstances, there is many a desolate and declining family, who sink under the rigours of an artificial system, which they are too delicate to brave—who, perhaps, of gentler mood, cannot brook the humiliations of a public scrutiny, and cannot fight their way through all those rude and repulsive obstacles by which the avenues of legal charity are guarded. They are unnoticed by neighbours, because a refuge is open to them, which they have not the hardihood to enter. The feeling of private charity is suspended, and there is a frown in public charity that scareth them away.

To realize the best condition of a parish, we do not hold it necessary, however, that the collection shall be done away—but we do hold it most

desirable, that it be stript altogether of its legal character; and that the Kirk-Session have the gratuitous and uncontrolled administration of it. Thus delivered, we think that it may be the instrument of many and great services to philanthropy, though never brought to bear on the relief of mere indigence at all. For this last object, a very slight impulse given to the habits of the poor, and the hearts of their wealthier neighbours, would do more than any public offering whatever—and we appeal to any deacon who hath had intimate experience among his families, whether benevolence would not go forth upon its work with tenfold alacrity, when once the popular imagination of a legal right on the one hand, and a certain depressing sense of legal obligation on the other, were wholly done away. There is nothing else wanting, in fact, even in the very poorest departments of our land, to make it a gracious and a practicable task for an individual to undertake any hundred contiguous families; and to earn, by his cheap and easy attentions, a heartfelt gratitude from them all. Our deacons have done marvellously; but they would have done better still, had it not been for the hopes and the claims which attach to the official situation that they hold—had they stood related to the people in the simple capacity of their well-wishers and friends—had the jealousy and the heart-burnings which legality never fails to engender, been detached from the whole of their intercourse with them, so as to

give to each little forthgoing of aid and of service the character of spontaneous kindness, and restore to humanity its own proper guise.

II. I hope, that, by this time, every objection to the imitableness of the parochial system by others, has been conclusively set at rest. It is not by my great day collection, but my small evening one, that the only essential operation of the process hath been done—and done, too, at an expense of management so very trifling, as to be most easily borne, even by the most busy and occupied of the citizens.

There are now two parishes, where the plan hath been completely acted on for a considerable time, and with most unlooked-for success; and there are three where it hath been partially acted upon. It is, perhaps, very natural in these circumstances, for city rulers, whose habitual superintendence is a general one, and over the city as a whole, to seek for the effect of this change on the sum total of the expenditure for the pauperism of Glasgow; and if they find, that this expenditure still grows upon their hands, to ask, what benefit hath accrued to us from the new system? But, though this may be natural, never was any thing more thoroughly erroneous. It is hard, indeed, to make the new system responsible, not for the expenditure in those parishes where it is established, but in those also where it is shut out and resisted. If two English counties adopted our retracing process, and succeeded therein, would it be any dis-

paragement upon its efficacy, that still there was an increase of national pauperism in the country at large? The only quarter where to look for the efficacy of the new system, is to the parishes where it has been set up, and has for some time been in actual operation. If, in one of these parishes, there be no compulsory pauperism at all in consequence, and in another of them it be rapidly dying off, and no new accessions are making to it, this is the only proper test, and it is a conclusive one. The general increase of pauperism, notwithstanding, is, in fact, the strongest demonstration that can be given, not of the impotency of the new system, under which it is melting away, but of the mischievous power and virulence of the old, under which it is making head against all the correctives that are applied to it, and notwithstanding all the encroachments that are making upon its territory. From the tables of Mr. Cleland, it appears, that the poor rate of Glasgow in 1803, was £3,940, and that in 1820, it was so much as £13,120. At this rate, it would require the most complete and decisive success of at least six of the Glasgow parishes out of the ten, ere the progress of this sore mischief was arrested. When one or two parishes strike off from the Town Hospital, they may retard the increase of pauperism, but it does not follow, that they should prevent the increase. Nevertheless, it is most true, that by each parish adopting it successively, the whole would, at length, disappear; and that, too, by a

smooth and gradual process, which carried none of the hazards of a violent and sudden innovation along with it.

It were, therefore, well, that our city rulers gave every encouragement to each Kirk-Session, that felt disposed for the separate and independent management of their own affairs—and meanwhile, not to be impatient for a general result, or look for any striking or palpable effect, except in the parishes themselves, taken singly. And the only encouragement which even the poorest of the parishes would require, is a good initial arrangement for their existing paupers, and an unfettered control over their own means in the treatment of their future paupers. It were one of the worst ways of helping them, to decree, in their behalf, any part of the sums collected in the wealthier parishes. This would at once relax that stimulus wherein the whole virtue, in fact, of the process lies; and which never can be secured but by each parish being left to its own means, and its own management. There is nought of which the public are more incredulous, and yet nought more experimentally true, than that it is not money which is wanted, but such an impulse given to the sobrieties of humble life, and the sympathies of nature, as under a simple economy of pauperism, would greatly more than supply its place.

But such an arrangement for equalizing the collections between poorer and wealthier parishes, would not only destroy the stimulus to good man-

agement in the poorer—it would also most grievously paralyze the management of the wealthier. It was for this reason that I resisted so strenuously every attempt on the surplus of my own collection. I believe that, had these attempts succeeded, there would, in the first instance, have been a much smaller collection; and, in the second instance, I fear, a much less strict and attentive administration. It is not in human nature, that men should be so intent on the prosperity of any operation, when all the fruits of that prosperity are to be seized upon by others, and alienated from the good of their own particular vineyard. It was, therefore, a question of serious concern, how my own surplus, that had accumulated to a good many hundred pounds, should be disposed of. It was of importance that it should be absorbed, for had it continued applicable to the expenses of pauperism alone, it would most surely have relaxed the management; but, then, it was of equal importance that it should be absorbed in a way that would gratify and interest my parochial administrators, who, one and all of them, had the good of the parish at heart. And therefore I have applied it to the endowment of parish schools. And so it should be suffered to all who are in any way embarrassed with their surplusses, those most decisive trophies to the efficiency of the parochial system in Glasgow. The poorer parishes, after having obtained a good initial arrangement, might, with all safety, be left to themselves. And the richer, after hav-

ing provided a good apparatus of parochial schooling for their own population, should be permitted, through the medium of their collections, to extend the same benefit to other parishes, or even to the suburb wastes by which our city is surrounded.*

The proposition that our surplus should go to the Town Hospital, for the relief of the general expenditure of the city, is altogether monstrous. When one reflects, indeed, that all the collections of the city churches taken together amount to about £2,000 in the year, and that the annual assessment has been known to exceed £13,000, this whole attempt upon the sessional surplusses is something very like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. But never was there so thorough an exemplification of the cross-purpose—never were human understandings so totally at antipodes with each other, as when it was proposed to lead the camel forth, that it may feed and fatten on the healthful sproutings of that system which was es-

* For the purpose of giving complete legal security to the parochial system in Glasgow, the following are the heads of the bill that should be attempted in Parliament.

First, when the Kirk-Session of any parish, by a certain specified majority, which ought to be a large one, undertakes to provide for all their existing sessional poor, and to meet all their own new cases of pauperism, without having recourse on the fund by assessment, they should be left to the uncontrolled disposal of their own collections.

Secondly, when a Kirk-Session, the expense of whose present sessional poor overpasses their present collection, undertakes, on being relieved of the excess, to provide for the same objects in the same way, they, in like manner, should be left to the uncontrolled disposal of their own collections.

Thirdly, the general law of residence in Scotland should be made applicable for the mutual protection of the parishes within the Royalty, from each other's poor.

pecially set up with the design to starve it at length into utter extermination. Had this idea been entertained by more than a very few of our influential men, I should have been filled with despair; but I confidently leave the whole question in the hands of those from whom I have ever experienced the most friendly countenance and support—and I cannot doubt that, with the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, the experiment is safe.

There is just one delusion more which might bewilder the views of the public on this question; and I speak the more earnestly upon it, that I have witnessed the mischievous influence of it in many parts of England. It is possible, at any time, to put forth an arm of vigour, and to make very great retrenchments on the existing pauperism, and without changing at all the old system, to administer it so strictly for a season as to reduce very much the expenditure—and then appeal to this reduction as an argument that the system is in itself a very good one, and that no other reformation is called for than merely on the administration of it. But this impulse will not continue—and the pauperism will soon make head again—and whenever there is the unlimited command over a fund for its expense, it will be found most surely, in

And, lastly, for the encouragement of the poorer parishes, those whose expense to the fund by assessment, for the seven years previous to their adoption of the provisions of the act, has exceeded their contribution by the levy to this fund, during the same period, shall be wholly exonerated from the assessment, so soon as either their Hospital paupers have all died away, or they have otherwise relieved that institution of all further charge on account of them.

the long-run, to contain within itself the seeds and principles of its own most mischievous acceleration. It is not so with the modest and gratuitous economy of a Scottish parish, because there the administrators are at all times necessarily strict, and the popular habit is that of a quiescence corresponding therewith. How soon the people even of a city parish may be conducted to this habit back again—and how soon, in consequence, a Kirk-Session may be relieved from all that pressure of application which is inseparable from compulsory pauperism, has, I trust, been made most abundantly manifest by the truly important testimonies which I have received from the deacons of St. John's.

I conclude with one word to the clergymen of the city. There is nought more fitted to deter imitation than the idea of a complex and unmanageable machinery; and I accordingly believe, that one of the elements which enters into the disinclination of my colleagues for the parochial system is, the idea that an order of deacons is indispensable. Now, however valuable the services of my deacons may have been, and however much I desire the continuance of these services, yet it were against experimental truth to affirm, that by elders alone the retracing process could not be accomplished. The Outer Kirk parish had a far more unfavourable commencement than we had, and yet their Kirk-Session has succeeded hitherto without deacons. And so might any other Kirk-Session in the city, on the condition, however, of their being heartily resolved upon the enterprise, and

nearly unanimous in its favour. A very few dissentients could easily blast the undertaking—could overrun, if they chose, their districts with pauperism—could, with so powerful an auxiliary on their side as the natural sloth and appetency of man, bring on such a host of applications to the parochial board, as might alarm all the members of it into a sense of their utter insufficiency to meet them; and then appeal to the premature failure, as an evidence against the new system, which they detest, and for the old, of which they are the devoted worshippers. I shall therefore be sorry if the matter be pushed and precipitated beyond the real progress of conviction; and however slow that progress was, I would much rather see it patiently waited for than prematurely outrun.

Before I have done, I shall again offer it as my decisive testimony, in behalf of this parochial system, that it is not only one of great efficacy, but of great comfort; and that within the parish of St. John's, much peace, as well as much prosperity has attended the operation of it. I shall ever think with gratitude and good will of the acceptance which it had among the families; and, indeed, of all the unmerited cordiality that I have gotten from their hands. The only drawback from that full enjoyment which I else might have had in it, is the perpetual controversy that was ever and anon springing up in some new quarter, so as to surround the enterprise with a menace and a hostility from without, that was at least very disquieting. The parochial system secured for me a

homewalk that was altogether delightful ; but it would have required the combative temper of an Ishmaelite, to have had any comfort in the foreign warfare that had to be waged for the defence of it. Yet this warfare, I fondly hope, is temporary ; confident as I am, that in proportion as the parochial system is more tried and more understood, there will come to be a more friendly coalescence in its favour, on the part of all the public men of Glasgow. There is much of a common feeling, and common principle that ought to harmonise us—many reconciling principles, on which I despair not, at length, of a full reciprocity of sentiment. I fully share with them in their antipathy to all wanton and senseless innovation. I share with them in their reverence for antiquity ; and our only difference is, that while some plead for the way and custom of their fathers, I should like to fetch my authority from a remoter age, and quote the still deeper and more revered antiquity of our grandfathers. It is not any new system which I advocate, but the system of the founders of the Scottish Kirk, as it still subsists throughout the vast majority of our land, and as it stood unviolated for more than a century, over nearly the whole extent of it, till marred by the contagion of England.

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